

**AN EXPLORATION OF SON PREFERENCE  
AND THE TREATMENT OF DAUGHTERS  
AMONG PUNJABI SIKHS IN NORTHERN CALIFORNIA**

by  
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## **Abstract**

**Background:** Son preference is a phenomenon characterized by a greater valuation of male versus female children that can manifest through discriminatory behaviors in the prenatal or postnatal period. While the phenomenon is well-researched in India, limited research attention has been given to the persistence of son preference ideology among the growing Indian immigrant population in the U.S. This dissertation explores what the male and female perspectives of son preference and daughter neglect are among Punjabi Sikh immigrants in Northern California, and what professionals have encountered with regard to the phenomenon.

**Methods:** This study utilized qualitative research methods to collect data from members of the Punjabi Sikh community residing in Northern California. In phase one of this project, key informant interviews were conducted with professionals in health, education, social services, and community organizing (n=17). In phase two, in-depth interviews were conducted with unmarried sons (n=11) and daughters (n=14) age 18-24 years who were born in the U.S. or migrated here at a young age, and married males (n=2) and females (n=6) who were born in North India, were age 21 and over, and had at least two children. An inductive thematic analysis was followed for data analysis that encompassed coding the data, combining codes into broader categories and themes, and then noting relationships among categories to make descriptive comparisons.

**Results:** Son preference in Punjabi Sikh families continues to persist in both subtle and overt ways, most predominantly in the form of emotional abuse. While both males and females recognized instances of discriminatory treatment towards girls and women throughout the community, women and girls perceived more inequality in the home in

various forms and described potential harmful influences to female mental health across the lifespan.

**Conclusion:** The results indicate that efforts to better understand physical and psychological morbidities that stem from patriarchal structures and differential treatment in Punjabi Sikh family and community spaces are warranted. In addition, services that sensitively and confidentially allow for preventing, discussing, screening and addressing issues of gender and personal and family conflict would contribute greatly to self-image, relationship ideals and expectations, and family and community wellbeing.

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## **Dedication**

*To the most courageous, devoted, and loving woman I know.  
Your strength and resilience are a lifelong inspiration.  
I am blessed to call you my best friend and mom.*

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surviving doctoral training and about the study, but also about balancing personal and professional demands.

In Northern California, I am indebted to the South Asian community leaders, professionals, and community members who graciously shared their time, insights, and experiences for this study. Their perspectives and stories of the immigrant experience were truly moving and will stay with me long after this study comes to a close. I am also thankful to those individuals and community organizations that supported the study and assisted with spreading word throughout the community. I feel lucky to have grown up in such a vibrant and large yet close-knit Punjabi Sikh community that has only grown larger over the years, and am grateful to have had the opportunity to document their experiences.

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My friends, peers, and extended family members from across the miles have been invaluable in enriching my experience during this program with moral support, cheer, and well-wishes. There are too many to list but they know who they are and in particular, I thank my Baltimore/ D.C. family for delicious meals, warm memories, and a home away from home.

I thank my parents for every sacrifice they have made to provide my brother and me with opportunities they never had and for the caring and loving home environment

they cultivated while we grew up. Through their own lives and the diverse experiences to which they exposed us, they instilled in me the importance of two values that anchor my every undertaking: the importance of working hard, and employing one's efforts to serve those who are less fortunate. In committing to a life of public service, these values of hard work and benevolence will continue to root and guide my cause. I thank my brother for his ability to make me laugh and for constantly believing in and supporting every endeavor I have chosen to pursue- both personally and professionally. I feel blessed to have been born into this family and could not have made it to this point without their love and support over the years.

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And last but certainly not least, I am thankful to my four-legged family members, Hershey and Carmel, who have kept me company during long learning, reading, studying and writing sessions and continue to provide endless joy, licks, wags, and cuddles when they are needed most.



## **Foreword**

I was born as a first generation South Asian- American in Baltimore, Maryland to parents who grew up in New Delhi, India, and who came to America in search of an improved quality of life and better educational opportunities for their children. The dot com boom eventually landed us in the Silicon Valley, where I was raised. With this move, my parents hoped for a stable career, financial success, and for finding other families who were striving for a healthy balance of Eastern and Western lifestyles.

Growing, up, my parents emphasized both the assimilation into American culture and the importance of learning about and preserving my religious and cultural roots. I took gymnastics and tap dance lessons, but I also performed Bhangra (traditional folk dance of Punjab). I learned to play the piano, but I also learned to play the harmonium (a popular musical instrument in India similar to an accordion) and sing religious hymns. I volunteered in my local community at hospitals and shelters, but I also dedicated time each week to service at the temple. English is my first language, but I have also learned to read and write Punjabi. While I have visited many of the historic sites in our nation's capital and throughout America, I have also visited places of worship and historic landmarks in India.

Amidst this balancing act, I faced a clash between the usually open-minded feminist dialogue and action that took place in the more Westernized circles I was part of and the often narrow-minded, sometimes subtle while sometimes uncomfortably apparent sexism and misogyny observed in the South Asian cultural and religious communities to which I belonged. The latter was especially confusing given praise showered on women in certain religious scriptures that were taught in Sunday school and assertions by

community members that women should be lauded for the vital role they play in preserving cultural and religious values. Once I entered adolescence and began further exploring, questioning, and trying to understand this disconnect, my mother told me a story about how upon delivering the news by phone to India that their eldest son's firstborn child was a daughter, her in-laws/ my paternal grandparents regretfully said, "Oh well. Your next child will hopefully be a son." In contrast, my maternal grandparents were elated with the news and said "Daughters are good omens for the household." While I grew up in a home with an assertive, educated, independent female role model and a home in which I was encouraged by both parents to challenge myself, pursue higher education, and become anything I wanted to be, beginning in early adulthood I was confronted more aggressively with double-standards and conflicting messages about gender roles and expectations both personally and through the stories of others.

These experiences were acknowledged for reflexivity as I embarked on a research expedition to excavate a better understanding of son preference, daughter discrimination, and gender inequality among a community that significantly shaped my identity and a community I continue to associate myself with today. As a researcher, I recognize that my interpretation, analysis, and writing on this topic will be colored by my upbringing, values, biases, and experiences.

Bracketing is considered the initial stage of data analysis in which the investigator "sets aside, as far as is humanly possible, all preconceived experiences to best understand the experiences of participants in the study" (Creswell, 2007, p. 235; Husserl, 1931; Moustakas, 1994). Moustakas, however, acknowledges that investigators setting aside

their experiences entirely is unrealistic in practice (1994). As an alternative, it has been suggested that researchers initiate their projects by “describing their own experiences with the phenomenon and bracketing out their views before proceeding with the experiences of others” (Creswell, 2007, p. 60).

The latter is the approach commenced in this dissertation, which also aligns with a sociological perspective of “the outsider within.” “...one where intellectuals learn to trust their own personal and cultural biographies as significant sources of knowledge” (Collins, 1986, p. S29). However, while I proceeded with data collection processes, analysis and write-up after embracing my background up front, it should also be clarified that aside from my physical appearance which I cannot hide and any assumptions participants made upon interacting with me themselves, my personal experiences and background were not shared with participants so as not to diminish the bracketing “...that is essential to construct the meaning of participants in phenomenology” (Creswell, 2007, p. 60). Thus, although my personal background provided a scaffold for the overall study, it was combined with bracketing so as to allow the participants’ voices and perspectives to be heard and prioritized.

According to Gilgun (2005), writings are co-constructions that signify symbiotic relationships between those researched and the researcher. Although I feel a strong responsibility as a researcher to ensure that the experiences of study participants are captured and conveyed accurately, I also feel an obligation to the Indian immigrant community in how the study findings are eventually communicated and portrayed so as not to perpetuate stereotypes of the community and its beliefs or practices as exotic, backwards, or perverse. Moreover, during a climate of intense political debate around the

issue of sex selective abortions and the anti-choice community's use of Asian American women as leverage to ban abortions in the U.S., I will also need to consider "...how my words could be used for progressive, conservative and repressive social politics" (Creswell, 2007, p. 180).

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## **Glossary**

Chaur:	fanning the Holy Scriptures as a sign of respect throughout a religious service
Chai:	spiced tea
Gurdwara:	Sikh house of worship, or temple
Izzat:	honor or reputation (both personal and family)
Jatt:	farmington caste of Punjab
Katha:	verbal explanation of Sikh history, teachings and hymns
Kirtan:	singing of sacred hymns
“Kuli chutti ditteai”:	given a lot of freedom
Kuriyan:	girls
“Kuriyan bigar janiya”:	the girls are going to get out of control/ spoiled (i.e. too liberated)
Pugh:	turban
Sardarji:	a Sikh man who has preserved the physical Sikh identity (unshorn hair kept in a turban)
“Sare kehndea munde changea”:	everyone says that boys are good
Tusi:	Formal version of “you”

## **Chapter 1: Introduction**

### **Overview**

Son preference is defined broadly as “the foundation of the cultural, economic, social and ideological arguments that justify the preference for, if not the deification of, sons” (Purewal, 2010, p. 1). It is a form of gender discrimination grounded in the belief that sons are more valuable than daughters, and typically manifests in males being treated more favorably than females. Moreover, son preference encompasses an array of attitudes contributory to stereotypical gender beliefs and actions that are grounded in perceptions of two clear-cut genders in which the roles and expectations of girls and boys are clearly outlined and each is constrained to think and act based on their gender. It is a global occurrence that has existed throughout history and is most notably present in many South and East Asian countries, along with former Soviet Bloc countries in the Caucasus and Balkans. In these regions, son preference and sex selective practices have led to dismal sex ratios indicating greater than normal numbers of boys being born or surviving to age seven than girls. In India and China, the age-old phenomenon of son preference is understood to be due to certain social and economic factors that make it more valuable to have sons than daughters. Striking observations of excess female child mortality in these regions have been the focus of much of the literature on son preference and sex selection (Arnold, 1987; Hesketh and Xing, 2006). Son preference in these contexts can manifest in many different ways, including utilization of sex selective technologies (SST) during pregnancy, female infanticide at birth, and neglect of daughters during early childhood and adolescence (Hvistendahl, 2011; Sumner, 2009).

Although the strong preference for sons and sex-selective practices in India and greater South Asia have been studied for years in order to better understand their pervasiveness, research has yet to scratch the surface to explore the phenomenon among the significant and growing Indian immigrant population in the United States. Especially intriguing about exploring this issue among Indian immigrants is that the traditional rationale for son preference in India and greater South Asia does not hold water in the cultural and political landscape of the United States where women are (relatively) not as marginalized, have a greater level of self-sufficiency and independence, and where norms around arranged/introduced marriages and assuming a husband's name after marriage are changing. In this type of atmosphere, why does son preference persist (or not) in the U.S. and what are its potential manifestations in the form of daughter neglect that may have repercussions for the health and wellbeing of Indian American women and families?

### **Research Aims**

Grounded in the gendered, familial, and sociocultural realities of Indian immigrants in the U.S., the focus of this dissertation is on exploring the perspectives of, underlying reasons for and manifestations of son preference as it affects daughters through the lens of the family unit with additional insight sought from professionals in health, education, and social services.

The justification for a focus on family in this dissertation is provided by preliminary research done among Indian American communities and an understanding of their culture and practices that limit discussing personal, potentially stigmatizing issues outside the home. While community members acknowledge that a deeper understanding of the issue is needed, pilot studies among Indian Americans in the Bay Area indicate that

people prefer for such exploration to be initiated from those within the community itself, rather than by non-South Asians who may bestow judgment and lack sensitivity around the issue, and to be conducted in safe, comfortable, confidential environments given the taboo nature of the subject. By beginning the dialogue with a discussion of family dynamics rather than son preference, the goal is to foster this type of safe space and “unpack the desires” (Jesudason, 2011) that lead to gender discrimination. Moreover, a recent study on son preference and sex selection among South Asian women in the U.S. documented that while women experienced intense verbal pressure from many male and female family members to have sons, they also felt that the lack of verbal or emotional support from other family members, most notably their husbands, in opposing this pressure was responsible for perpetuating demands to have sons (Puri et al., 2011). Thus, this proposed study seeks to engage husbands and sons, in addition to wives and daughters, in an effort to better understand their motivations, perspectives and experiences. The specific research aims are as follows:

### ***Phase One***

#### **Aim 1-**

To explore the manifestations of daughter neglect among Punjabi Sikh immigrant families from the perspective and experience of health, education, and social service professionals.

### ***Phase Two***

#### **Aim 2-**

To explore perceptions of son preference and daughter neglect among unmarried sons and daughters from Punjabi Sikh immigrant families.

### Aim 3-

To explore perceptions of son preference and daughter neglect among Punjabi Sikh immigrant husbands and wives.

### **Context of Indians, South Asians, and Asian Americans in the U.S.**

The following community context provides some background on South Asian Americans and Punjabi Sikhs in the U.S. and California in order to better situate the experiences and challenges faced by first-generation Indian American families. While the focus of this research was on a specific subset of Indians, data sources typically lump this group into a broader group of South Asians or Asian Americans. Thus, the data presented in this section summarizes the sociodemographic information available on South Asians or Asian Americans as a whole, depending on the source.

The South Asian community in the U.S. encompasses individuals who trace their roots to the countries of Bangladesh, Bhutan, India, the Maldives, Nepal, Pakistan, and Sri Lanka. These groups vary in the religions they practice and languages they speak, but often share similar immigration experiences and histories. Religions practiced by South Asians include Buddhism, Christianity, Hinduism, Jainism, Judaism, Islam, Sikhism, and Zoroastrianism. Aside from English, the most common South Asian languages spoken in the U.S. include Bengali, Gujarati, Hindi, Punjabi, and Urdu (SAALT, 2012a).

Data from the U.S. Census 2010 indicates that over 3.4 million South Asians currently reside in the U.S. Of these, more than 80 percent trace their ancestry to India. Moreover, compared to all major ethnic groups, South Asians represent the fastest growing population in the U.S. The growth rate for Bangladeshi, Indian, Pakistani, and Sri Lankan groups surpasses that of the Hispanic American, non-Hispanic White, and

Asian American population as a whole. The states with the greatest populations of South Asians are California, New York, New Jersey, Texas, and Illinois, while the metropolitan areas with the greatest populations of South Asians are New York City, Chicago, Washington D.C., Los Angeles, and San Francisco-Oakland (SAALT, 2012a, SAALT, 2012b, SAALT & AAF, 2012).

Most South Asians who reside in the U.S. are foreign-born: over 75 percent of the population was born outside of the country (SAALT, 2012a). The diverse immigration statuses in the population include undocumented immigrants, legal permanent residents, naturalized citizens, and student or worker visa holders. While many South Asians satisfy the stereotype of the model minority and hold professions in the technology and health care sectors, other highly prevalent careers among the population include lower-wage jobs as cashiers, taxi drivers, and restaurant workers. Additionally, data suggests that nearly 13 percent of Indians live at 125 percent of the poverty level, which constitutes more than 200,000 individuals (SAALT, 2012b).

A recent report by the Pew Research Center sought to describe the demographic characteristics, family and personal values, sense of identity and belonging, and other facets of Asian Americans as a group and among subgroups. Subgroups included Chinese Americans, Filipino Americans, Japanese Americans, Korean Americans, Vietnamese Americans, Indian Americans, and an “other” group comprised of Bangladeshis, Burmese, Cambodians, Hmong, Laotians, Pakistanis and Thais. This report states that 2.2 million adult Indian Americans lived in the U.S. in 2010, comprising the third largest group among Asian Americans and around 17 percent of the adult U.S. Asian population (Pew Research Center, 2012). Characteristics of Indian Americans

documented in the report are summarized in table 1.1. Of note, the survey found that around 71 percent of adult Indian Americans are married, a figure higher than that for Asian Americans as a group (59 percent) and for the nation (51 percent). Additionally, fertility-related figures found that 8.4 percent of Indian American women age 18 to 44 years gave birth in the 12 months prior to the 2010 survey. This figure is also higher than that of Asian American women as a whole and women nationally (Pew Research Center, 2012).

The takeaway message of the report projects an image of Asian American communities as highly educated, financially secure, and better off in many facets of life than other minority groups in the U.S. For this reason, the report has received great media attention since its release and numerous statements have been published by various Asian American organizations expressing appreciation for raising awareness about Asian Americans but more significantly, conveying criticism for perpetuating the myth of the model minority (Hing, 2012). One such statement reads:

The Pew study, which has received wide media attention, could lead some to draw conclusions that reflect inaccurate stereotypes about Asian Americans being a community with high levels of achievement and few challenges. While it is certainly important to highlight the accomplishments of segments of Asian Americans, it is also critical to understand that the community is not monolithic.

The Pew Research Center's study is an important conversation starter, but it should be balanced with a comprehensive understanding of community-based needs and concerns facing Asian Americans. We need to move beyond one-dimensional narratives of exceptionalism about Asian Americans in order to better understand and address the diverse experiences facing our community members (National Council of Asian Pacific Americans, 2012).

Although highly educated and financially successful South Asians exist and are often the ones who interact more with mainstream society, there is another face of the community



that is overlooked. South Asian Americans Leading Together (SAALT) asserts that 20 percent of South Asian Americans lack health insurance, South Asian communities face persistent challenges related to discrimination, immigration issues, and accessing necessary services, and Indian students comprise the fourth largest English as a Second Language student population among Asian American students (Iyer, 2012).

**Table 1.1:** Characteristics of Indian American Adults in the U.S., 2010

*% (unless otherwise noted)			
	U.S. Total	U.S. Asians	U.S. Indians
<b>Foreign born</b>	15.8	74.1	87.2
<b>Citizen</b>	91.4	69.6	56.2
<b>Median age (in years)</b>	45	41	37
<b>Married</b>	51.4	59.0	70.9
<b>Fertility (women ages 18-44)</b>			
Had a birth in the past 12 months	7.1	6.8	8.4
Of these, % unmarried	37.1	14.6	2.3
<b>College educated (ages 25+)</b>	28.2	49.0	70.0
<b>Median annual personal earnings</b>			
Full-time, year-round workers	\$40,000	\$48,000	\$65,000
<b>Household annual income</b>			
Median	\$49,800	\$66,000	\$88,000
<b>Average household size (persons)</b>	2.6	3.1	3.1
<b>Home ownership rate</b>	65.4	58.1	56.7
<b>In poverty</b>	12.8	11.9	9.0
<b>Language</b>			
Speaks	90.4	63.5	76.2

*% (unless otherwise noted)			
	U.S. Total	U.S. Asians	U.S. Indians
English very well			
Speaks English less than very well	9.6	36.5	23.8
<b>Region of residence</b>			
Northeast	18.3	20.1	31.1
Midwest	21.6	11.3	16.8
South	37.0	21.5	28.5
West	23.0	47.1	23.5

*Note: Unmarried women include those who are divorced, separated, widowed or never married. "Speaks English very well" includes those who speak only English at home. U.S. Asians and U.S. Indians include mixed-race and mixed-group populations, regardless of Hispanic origin.*  
*Source: Pew Research Center analysis of 2010 American Community Survey, Integrated Public Use Microdata Sample (IPUMS) files*  
*(Pew Research Center, 2012)*

### **Specific Community Context: Punjabi Sikhs in Northern California**

Sikhs are a socio-religious group originating from the northwest region of India, known as Punjab. Many Sikhs display commitment to their religion by wearing certain articles of faith that demonstrate their dedication to living by the Sikh principles of honor, fairness, and equality for all. One of these articles of faith is uncut hair. Men, and some women, cover the hair on their head with a turban and keep uncut beards, resulting in a distinct physical identity that often results in Sikh Americans facing many of the same discriminatory conditions as Muslims and Arab Americans.

While there are no definitive estimates, sources approximate around 200,000 Sikhs in the U.S. and over 25 million followers around the world (Pew Research Center, 2012; The Sikh Coalition, 2012). Experts have divided the history of Sikh immigration to and settlement in California into two periods: 1900-1965 and 1965 to the present. Sikhs began immigrating to North America (Canada and the U.S.) in 1907 and by 1910, had settled mainly in the inland valleys of California. There, they helped build railroads

and focused largely on agricultural pursuits, given their rural, agrarian upbringing in Punjab. Although Punjabi Muslims and Punjabi Hindus were also among the single, uneducated, and poor male farmers who immigrated to North America from British-occupied India at this time, over 80 percent of those who made this journey identified themselves as Sikhs. Of note, South Asian women were not represented in this initial wave of immigration and very few are thought to have entered the U.S. even by the 1940s. Those that did come then likely arrived as wives and daughters of businessmen who intended to eventually return to India (Hess, 1974; La Brack, 1988).

The experience of Sikhs during this first immigration period was characterized by changing immigration policy, discriminatory legislation, severe social isolation, and a dwindling community. In 1912, the first Sikh temple, or *gurdwara*, in the United States was established in Stockton, California and was the only *gurdwara* in the country until 1947 (La Brack, 1988). In addition to a place of worship, this *gurdwara* served as a gathering place, employment networking site, political forum, refectory, and refuge for those missing their community in Punjab and wanting to connect with their cultural roots. As of 2010, it is estimated that there are nearly 50 *gurdwaras* in California and 246 in the U.S. (Association of Religious Data Archives, 2010), and they each continue to serve multi-faceted, central roles in the lives of Sikh-American families.

As a result of liberalized immigration laws and the state's vibrant role in the growing global economy, there was an increase of Sikhs in California beginning in 1965. In contrast to those who comprised the first wave of Sikh immigrants, Sikhs who immigrated after 1965 were typically educated, from urban parts of India, financially stable and arrived with their families. Today, Sikhs in California occupy diverse roles as

entrepreneurs, engineers, academicians, research scientists, educators, lawyers, politicians, and physicians in addition to cab drivers, convenience store/restaurant/ small business owners, and domestic workers. As a result of education and advocacy efforts on the part of the large and growing Sikh community in California, the California legislature has declared November to be Sikh Awareness and Appreciation month and California is the only state thus far to have made such a declaration in an effort to celebrate the accomplishments of Sikhs and raise awareness about the community (The Sikh Coalition, 2013).

While Sikhs have endured immense challenges, tragedies, and hardships over the course of their history in India (i.e. civil war in Punjab; the partition of India in 1947; Operation Blue Star in 1984 during which Prime Minister Indira Gandhi ordered a military attack on Harmandir Sahib, the central place of worship for Sikhs) and formative years settling in North America, as a community they are industrious and resilient. These qualities are especially evident in light of 9/11 and the hate crimes and discrimination faced by the community ever since.

### **Significance**

The issue of son preference and the health and wellbeing of girls has not been studied among Indian immigrants in the U.S. and thus, this study contributes to a gap in evidence on both son preference and child maltreatment among an Asian American subpopulation. In addition to representing a violation of human rights (United Nations General Assembly, 1948; United Nations, 1989), discriminatory treatment of girls is a significant barrier to economic development and healthier, more stable communities. While the dismal consequences of a skewed sex ratio are justifiable concerns, and are

reiterated in the diasporic- and limited U.S.-focused literature as reasons to study and be concerned about attitudes and behaviors of son preference, an equally strong if not stronger rationalization for further investigating and understanding son preference ideologies is to address a form of violence against women and girls, and to put an end to cultural norms that demean and devalue women. The message that attitudes and behaviors supportive of son preference convey to girls, women, and community members both within the community that practices it and beyond cannot be ignored, and this gender equality and human rights aspect of the issue deserves attention regardless of population stability and pro-life standpoints.

Research suggests that cultures demonstrating preference for males attach great importance to hyper-masculinity and thus, reinforce stereotypes about typical gender roles (Mahalingam and Balan, 2008). This has implications for how relationship ideals and expectations are shaped in a community, whether girls become programmed to tolerate abuse within their immediate and extended families, and could engender future issues of domestic abuse. This is especially significant from a public health perspective as an issue of child health in that a cultural preference for males over females that leads to gender discrimination can produce greater frailty and poorer health status in women and forces them to confront gender-bias issues across the life course with potentially significant repercussions for their health and health care (Fikree and Pasha, 2004; Merchant and Kurz, 1992; Mosley and Becker, 1991; Mosley and Chen, 1984; Oomman and Ganatra, 2002).

Additionally, depression and suicidal thoughts are significant concerns in the Asian American community, particularly among women, in light of research in recent

years documenting rates among the Asian American population. Asian American teenage girls have the highest rate of depressive symptoms among any other ethnic, racial or gender group, and U.S. born Asian American women had a higher lifetime rate of suicidal thoughts than that of the general U.S. population (Africa and Carrasco, 2011; Duldulao et al., 2009). Asian Americans also had the highest suicide rate among females from all racial backgrounds between the ages of 65 and 84 years (Heron, 2011; Xu et al., 2010). Experts cite risks for posttraumatic stress disorder for immigrant families that have fled political turmoil or violence and struggled to live comfortably in the U.S., excessive emphases on family reputation and obligations, and pressure to balance homeland values with those of American culture as reasons for mental health concerns facing Asian American communities. Moreover, researchers describe that girls in Asian American families are more likely to bear the brunt of family pressure given the combination of gender issues and ethnic issues they constantly face in the form of Asian American parents being more strict with girls than boys, cultural restraint in discussing emotions that leads girls to internalize their feelings, and expectations of being perfect daughters, wives, mothers and caretakers who compromise their needs for the greater good of the family. While an investigation of how son preference impacts depressive symptoms has not been undertaken to date, this dissertation research contributes to better understanding the influence of son preference and differential treatment of daughters on the experiences of both immigrant and U.S. born Asian Americans and the potential role it may play in contributing to psychological morbidities.

With recent recognition for the role of families in promoting individual and group health in their routine family practices and interactions (Christensen, 2004; Ferrer,

Palmer, and Burge, 2005; Novilla et al., 2006), this study's emphasis on examining son preference and daughter maltreatment from the perspective of individuals who occupy different roles within the family (sons, daughters, wives/ mother, husbands/ fathers) also importantly contributes to the small amount of research to date on how families engage in shaping and influencing certain aspects of the health of their members.

Related to this dissertation research, family health practices around care and connection, in addition to other key factors, have been shown to affect young people's health and wellbeing (Christensen, 2004). Additionally, the literature details a historical focus on understanding family structure and functions that has moved in more recent years towards placing greater emphases on actual happenings in family life through an ecocultural approach that acknowledges the role of family goals, values and practices in influencing family health (Weisner, 1998). Among the family-level factors believed to be related to individual health beliefs and health-related behavior are gender and age role differences, family dynamics and parenting styles, communication patterns, and power relations (Christensen, 2004; Holland, Mauthner, and Sharpe, 1996), which are all touched upon in this research.

This study thus contributes to the growing knowledge base that identifies the family unit as a key entry point and central focus in identifying important issues and promoting health, while also furthering an understanding of South Asian gender family dynamics in the voices of family members themselves. This type of information from family members is especially important given the private nature of the topic that hinders discussion or help-seeking outside the family and thus allows for planning programs and effectively, safely, and sensitively implementing interventions.

## **Structure of Dissertation**

This dissertation is organized into seven chapters. The following chapter, Chapter 2, provides a background of son preference ideology among South Asians and child abuse and maltreatment among Asian Americans along with a conceptual framework. Chapter 3 highlights the study methodology, including the design, sample, ethical considerations, data collection procedures, and analytic process. Chapters 4, 5, and 6 detail results of key informant interviews (chapter 4), in-depth interviews with sons and daughters (chapter 5), and in-depth interviews with husbands and wives (chapter 6). Chapter 7 encompasses an overview of the study aims, findings and significance, study strengths and weaknesses, implications for programming and future research, and concluding thoughts. Each chapter is followed by references relevant for that chapter. Appendices containing a map of Punjab along with data collection instruments follow the final chapter.



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## **Chapter 2: Background**

The following section summarizes existing information regarding central phenomenon of relevance to this study. This includes the history of and rationale for son preference, the current state of son preference and daughter neglect in India, and son preference and child maltreatment among Asian Americans in the U.S. Next, a conceptual framework that utilized the literature and existing theories is shared that guided the data collection process and interpretation of results.

### **History of Son Preference in India**

According to historical texts, matriarchal societies were common throughout societies all over the world until the male's role in procreation was recognized and nomadic, hunter-gatherer societies arose that required physical strength and athletic abilities that were more widely acknowledged in males. Prior to the Vedic period and Aryan civilizations of Indian history, it is believed that women enjoyed equal status in society. That is, until certain Hindu scriptures propagated beliefs about women as inferior individuals who are dependents of males. Consequently, many Hindu rites and rituals granted authority and importance to sons over daughters (Bandyopadhyay and Singh, 2003).

This eventually led the way for social and cultural norms that devalued women to be embedded further into society. This was in stark contrast to the fact that women were celebrated and worshipped religiously as sources of prosperity, fertility, and courage. In actuality, the role of women was constrained to the preservation and perpetuation of patriarchal norms. The status of women in the household was decided largely by their ability to produce sons so the husband's name and lineage could be carried on and they

were denied control over material resources and autonomy in personal and household decisions, such as whether/ when to have children or how their children would be raised (Bandyopadhyay and Singh, 2003). The desire for sons became so prominent in India that diverse means of controlling the process of sex selection arose. These ranged from timing of and position during sexual intercourse, dietary concoctions, and the use of charms, amulets, and religious rituals, to utilization of more aggressive technologies, female infanticide, and neglect in recent times (Allahbadia, 2002; Bandyopadhyay and Singh, 2003).

### **Theories of Son Preference**

Psychologists have proposed many theories to explain son preference. The oldest theories date back to Sigmund Freud's now discredited view that a young female's biological "penis envy" in childhood impacts her desire to have male children later in life, and Alfred Adler's proposal that a preference for sons is influenced by cultural values and is thus more prevalent in societies with pervasive low status of women and in which men are valued more than women (Swetkis et al., 2002).

More recent researchers have suggested linkages between son preference and marital security and satisfaction. These include suggestions that women prefer sons because husbands demonstrate more parental involvement with their male children than female children. Since involvement in parenting and family life is associated with increased marital satisfaction, women may prefer sons to foster security within their marital union (Harris and Morgan, 1991). Researchers have also found a belief among women that having sons was correlated with their marital satisfaction and stability, and decreased their likelihood of separation from their husbands (Katzev et al., 1994).

Evidence has also shown a greater chance of marital instability among couples with only female offspring compared to couples with only male children (Morgan et al., 1988).

Others have theorized that the issue of son preference reflects a skewed power dynamic between males and females. Nancy Williamson (1976) asserts that son preference is influenced by social, economic, and psychological biases that include wives taking their husband's names at marriage in patriarchal societies, males being viewed as more able to earn higher wages and a secure living for aging parents, and men viewing male offspring as an indicator of their masculinity, respectively. Later, Bayles (1984) proposed that preference for a child of a certain sex was likely rooted in the view that one sex is more appreciated than the other or that a child of a certain sex would facilitate the attainment of future aspirations, and felt that either perspective was predicated on unfounded sexist beliefs.

According to Kandiyoti (1988), who examined systems of male dominance in the Southern and East Asian context, women in these settings work around their constrictions to ultimately maximize security and optimize their life options. In other words, the subordination and maltreatment by men that women experience over the course of their lives is counterbalanced by the control they gain as older women over the younger women in the family. However, this notion of the "patriarchal bargain" (Kandiyoti, 1988) posits then that the power, status, and security women gain is only delivered through their married sons, thus perpetuating the strong preference for sons in Indian society (Kandiyoti, 1988; Rahman, Foster, and Menken, 1992). This framework is underscored by other research emphasizing that strongly patrilineal and patrilocal kinship systems throughout India continue to generate a significant incongruity between the

worth of a female to her parents as compared to her value to her in-laws. This literature suggests that as long as the convention endures for females and their post-marital output to be entirely consumed by their husband's family, parents are more likely to prefer raising sons than daughters (Das Gupta, 1995; Das Gupta et al., 2003).

To support these theories, a significant body of research highlights three key dimensions to explain son preference in India. These include economic, social, and religious reasons that demonstrate the low value placed on females in Indian society and support the utility of having a son. Economic factors that influence son preference include higher wage earning capacity for males, traditions that ensure sons provide security for parents in old age and illness, property inheritance, and in some regions, assistance with family agricultural endeavors (Arnold et al., 1998; Basu, 1989; Das Gupta, 1987; Mamdani, 1972; Miller, 1997). Religious factors are most prominent among devotees of the Hindu faith, as tradition dictates that only sons may light the funeral pyre of their deceased parents and sons provide an offering of food and clothing to higher caste members and the poor in order for their deceased parents' souls to have a chance at attaining salvation (Arnold et al., 1998). Social norms that perpetuate son preference include dowry payments in place for a son's family to benefit from marriage alliances, continuation of the family name and blood line through sons, traditions that require sons and their wives to reside in joint/extended family arrangements with the husband's family, social status and strength afforded to women and families by having sons, and the burden felt by families in needing to defend and protect their daughters, especially once they have reached adolescence (Arnold et al., 1998; Caldwell et al., 1989; Dyson and Moore, 1983; Kapadia, 1966; Karve, 1965; Pande and Malhotra, 2006).

Thus, these social, economic, psychological, and religious theories shed light on why son preference has been so intricately entrenched in Indian ways of life and provide a scaffold for understanding the extent to which the phenomenon has currently affected the demographics of India in addition to the condition of females both in India and in the U.S.

### **Son Preference and Daughter Neglect in India**

Estimates reveal that sex discrimination against female children in India amounts to one girl being lost to sex-selective abortions, infanticide, and fatal neglect every four minutes (Oster, 2009). There are fewer girls than boys in India and the skewed sex ratio has become more pronounced in recent years. While the Indian census does not publish sex ratios at birth, child sex ratios indicating the number of females below age seven for every 1000 males are published and suggest that India is facing a national calamity with regards to its sex ratios. In 1961 there were 976 girls per 1000 boys, as measured by the country's decennial census, and this ratio steadily dropped to 962 girls in 1981 and 945 girls in 1991. By 2001, it had decreased to 927 girls per 1000 boys and according to the latest census in 2011, the ratio has further decreased to 914 (Government of India, 2011; Jha et al., 2006; Leidl, 2005; Office of the Registrar General and Census Commissioner, 2011; Sen, 2003). Moreover, research suggests that those girls who survive past birth are 50 percent more likely to die between one and five years of age than boys of the same age (Oster, 2009). It is worth noting, however, that India has considerable variation in sex ratios by region. Ratios in northern parts of India are much lower than southern parts of India, where ratios are typically normal, and research also suggests ratios are lowest in the more affluent states of the country (Arnold et al., 2002; Barot, 2012; Ooman and



Ganatra, 2002). This is important as it distinguishes gender discriminatory attitudes of son preference in northern India that induce individuals and families to utilize sex selective techniques from attitudes of son preference in southern regions where the same technologies and actions are not employed (Barot, 2012).

Amidst the significant amount of research done in India on son preference and its implications for skewed sex ratios and female feticide, some attention has also been given to the underlying determinants of son preference ideology and its consequences for girls raised in this culture (Pande, 2003; Pande and Astone, 2007; Pande and Malhotra, 2006). Studies in India affirm that male children are more likely than female children to be taken to a health facility when ill, more likely to be immunized, and less likely to be malnourished (Arnold et al., 1998; Das Gupta, 1987; Ganatra and Hirve, 1994; Kishor, 1995, Kurz and Johnson-Welch, 1997; Sen and Sengupta, 1983). Studies have reported a difference in pediatric hospital inpatient and outpatient attendance between males and females in North India (with significantly higher attendance of males) and discrimination against girls in choosing not to utilize life-saving procedures for congenital heart disease (Ramakrishnan et al, 2011; Sachar et al., 1990; Saha et al., 2009).

Additionally, evidence suggests that in concert with a strong preference for sons, a desire exists for a balanced family sex composition among parents in India. Thus, in order to fulfill their preferred sex composition, parents may favor the child(ren) perceived to be more socially and religiously valuable for the household or they may selectively discriminate against children with particular sex-birth order qualities. According to research done on desired family composition, families in regions with strong son preference often prefer to have two sons and one daughter, and believe this one daughter

will provide valuable emotional, social, and religious strengths to the family. In contrast, having more than one or two female children is not usually positively accepted and girls born after an existing female child are more likely to be discriminated against in the family than first-born girls. According to some studies, girls with older sisters have significantly higher mortality risks than girls with older brothers, girls who are the eldest, or girls who have no surviving siblings (Dharmalingam, 1996; Murtharayappa et al., 1997; Scrimshaw, 1978). Evidence has also been documented of daughters younger than sons being neglected in families that do not desire any daughters or families that display obvious preference to their sons (Arnold et al., 1998; Das Gupta, 1987, Simmons et al., 1982). These practices are especially concerning given a growing desire for smaller families in conjunction with a persistent culture of strong son preference in India, suggesting that selective discrimination against higher-birth order girls may not be overcome easily (Das Gupta and Bhat, 1997; James, 2011; Pande, 2003).

In more recent work, an analysis of 1992- 1993 data from the rural sample of India's National Family Health Survey examined mothers' gender preference for their family composition, gender differentials in children under age five as measured by immunization levels and severe stunting, and other potential explanatory factors of son preference at the individual and community levels (Pande, 2003; Pande and Astone, 2007; Pande and Malhotra, 2006). This analysis had the following key findings:

- a) While sons are preferred over daughters, many mothers reported desiring at least one (though typically not more than one) daughter as well. Mothers were also asked about family balance and the majority of women in the sample expressed

not preferring one sex over another, wanting equal numbers of boys and girls, or even preferring girls over boys.

- b) More girls are unvaccinated and severely stunted by age five than boys. Of note, however, and corroboration of earlier studies mentioned above was the finding that selective health and nutritional discrimination towards girls was contingent on the sex of their older siblings. This was demonstrated by the finding that girls with two or more brothers and no elder sisters were significantly less likely to be stunted than a boy with only brothers, and girls with two or more elder sisters had the greatest likelihood of being stunted and were less likely to be fully immunized than boys with two or more sisters. In other words, families in which only a son or sons were already present were less likely to discriminate against a daughter than families with multiple daughters.
- c) An analysis of individual versus structural factors as determinants of son preference found that although economic development and wealth did not reduce son preference, women's education and media access were significantly associated with weaker son preference. Women's exposure to primary and higher levels of schooling reduced son preference, with greater reductions as level of schooling increased. In addition, villages in which most women were literate were less likely to prefer sons than villages with lower levels of female literacy. Moreover, women's weekly access to radio or TV and monthly access to cinema were analyzed as broad indicators of women's exposure to new ideas and were significantly associated with weaker son preference (Pande and Astone, 2007).

Also important to note, despite the finding described above that women's education makes a positive difference in the translation of son preference ideology into practice, is that current research in India indicates that sex selective abortions are more commonly practiced and growing among women of urban and better educated families (James, 2011; Ooman and Ganatra, 2002; Pande and Malhotra, 2006). While it may seem that the latter result contradicts the finding mentioned earlier of weaker son preference with increasing education levels, this is explained by the fact that the few educated women who demonstrate a preference for sons are also the ones who are more easily able to afford and access the technologies necessary to attain their ideal family balance in terms of size (with a likely preference for smaller families) and sex composition (Pande and Malhotra, 2006). This speaks to how deeply embedded son preference ideology is in the fabric of Indian culture and how the preference may actually be enhanced and more varied in its manifestations through modernization.

### **Son Preference among Indian Americans**

While not as significant as the gender bias that leads to immense pressure to have a child of a particular sex that exist in many countries, research suggests that a preference for boys over girls persists even in the U.S. One study seeking to examine firstborn preferences and attitudes towards using sex selective technologies among college students found that there is a significant overall preference for boys among males and females, and of those individuals willing to use sex selective technologies, males are significantly more likely to prefer firstborn boys than females (Swetkis et al., 2002). More informally, a 2011 Gallup poll noted that 40 percent of Americans who were asked, "Suppose you could only have one child. Would you prefer that it be a boy or a girl?"

wanted boys while 20 percent preferred girls, and the remainder had no preference. This poll also found that men were more likely to prefer a boy over a girl than women, and that younger age and less educational attainment were also associated with a greater preference for sons (Gallup, 2011). Another study found that American women who learn the sex of their child in utero are less likely to be married to the father of that child at delivery if the ultrasound indicated the child was female rather than male. Moreover, American parents are more likely to be divorced if the child is female and men are more likely to seek and obtain custody of children during divorce proceedings if their children are male (Dahl and Moretti, 2008).

Turning to data from South Asian and Asian American communities in the U.S., two studies have demonstrated evidence of sex ratio disparities among Chinese, Indian, and Korean-American families (Abrevaya, 2009; Almond and Edlund, 2008). While both studies examined sex ratios in these communities in the United States, one also focused exclusively on these populations in the state of California. Almond and Edlund (2008) utilized data from the 2000 U.S. Census and documented a significant bias towards males among Chinese, Korean and Indian communities at higher parities with no previous sons. Although the sex ratio of the first child was within the normal range (1.05), the sex ratio of second children was 1.17 when the first child was a female and increased to 1.51 if the first two children were female (Almond and Edlund, 2008). Their sample included 18, 557 children in 11,553 families in which all children were born in the U.S. and both the mother and father provided their race as Chinese, Korean, or Indian (Almond and Edlund, 2008).

Using linked California birth data from 1991 to 2005, Jason Abrevaya (2009) discovered that the likelihood of having a son is significantly higher for third and fourth born children than first born children, even after controlling for maternal characteristics, prenatal care, and time trends. He found that Indian mothers who had previously given birth to only girls were 71 percent more likely to have a termination prior to their third birth and 20 percent more likely to have a son compared to Indian mothers with two previous sons. His study concluded that Indian mothers are significantly more likely to have a son and a terminated pregnancy since their last birth if they previously had only daughters. Abrevaya also examined data by mothers' level of education and, similar to results from studies done in India, found no evidence that the observed boy-birth aberrations were isolated among more- or less-educated mothers (Abrevaya, 2009; Jha et al., 2011).

The first documented, systematic, peer-reviewed research done on experiences of son preference and sex selection among Indian women who had immigrated to the United States was published in 2011 (Puri et al., 2011). This study recruited women with a history of seeking sex selection services directly through two clinics that offered elective prenatal ultrasound services in locales with high South Asian immigrant populations, or through snowball sampling. Sixty-five (65) women participated in the study which captured broad themes around the social and cultural origins of son preference, pressure to have sons that women faced from different members of the immediate and extended family, and the range of physical and verbal abuse women experienced if they did not have sons (Puri et al., 2011).

These three studies by Abrevaya (2009), Almond and Edlund (2008), and Puri et al. (2011) represent the limited extent to which sex selective practices and son preference have been systematically studied at all within the Indian community in the U.S. While the insufficient research on this topic is concerning given the large and growing population of Indian immigrants dispersed throughout various regions of the country, this small body of research captures the fact that an issue around son preference exists in the Indian- American community and warrants further attention in a sensitive and nuanced manner.

### **Child Maltreatment among Asian Americans**

Although the limited current body of literature on son preference among Indian immigrants in the U.S. described in the previous section has focused on prenatal sex discrimination, or sex selective abortions, the results of these three studies demonstrate the persistence of son preference ideology among immigrant communities and justify an investigation into the implications of this ideology for girls by exploring the overarching issue of neglect towards female children and the potential manifestations that mistreatment of daughters may take.

The Federal Child Abuse Prevention and Treatment Act (CAPTA) defines child abuse and neglect, with “child” referring to any individual under 18 years of age or who is not an emancipated minor, at minimum as “Any recent act or failure to act on the part of a parent or caretaker which results in death, serious physical or emotional harm, sexual abuse or exploitation”; or an act or failure to act which presents an imminent risk of serious harm” (Child Welfare Information Gateway, 2013). Most State and Federal child protection regulations pertain to harm caused only by caregivers or parents (rather than

other relatives, friends, or strangers) and of note, many State laws also consider a child's observing of domestic violence as a type of abuse or neglect. In the U.S., the primary types of child maltreatment recognized by most states are physical abuse, neglect, emotional or psychological abuse, and sexual abuse. Some States additionally identify parental substance abuse and abandonment as forms of abuse or neglect.

Physical abuse is considered physical injury resulting from shaking, throwing, stabbing, kicking, punching, choking, hitting, burning, or harming the child in any other way and does not include forms of physical discipline that are considered reasonable and result in no bodily damage to the child. Neglect encompasses the failure of caregivers to provide for a child's basic educational, emotional, medical and/or physical needs.

Emotional abuse is a behavioral trend on the part of caregivers to injure a child's sense of self-worth and emotional development via rejection, criticism, and/or a lack of support, guidance, or affection. Given the difficulty in proving the occurrence of psychological abuse, child protective services are typically unable to mediate such family situations without evidence of mental harm to the child. Sexual abuse includes activities such as incest, rape, indecent exposure, exploitation through prostitution or the creation of pornographic materials, penetration, and fondling a child's genitals. These four types of maltreatment may be discovered separately, but they often co-occur and emotional abuse is nearly always present with other types of maltreatment (Child Welfare Information Gateway, 2013).

Although Asian Americans are one of the fastest growing minority groups in the United States, child maltreatment, among other significant topics, in this population has been largely understudied. The existing literature has focused on exploring differences in



child maltreatment among Asian Americans and other racial and ethnic groups in the U.S., with individual studies concentrating often on specific subgroups of Asian Americans (i.e. Cambodian, Chinese, Hmong, Japanese, Korean, Filipino, Vietnamese, Asian Indian, etc.). Moreover, some existing literature has also examined the role of childrearing practices and cultural customs in an attempt to parse out distinct features of child maltreatment among Asian Americans. While a few studies have explored the role of gender among Asian American maltreatment victims, to date no study has specially examined the association of son preference ideology (the nexus of cultural customs and gender roles) with the maltreatment, abuse, and/or neglect of daughters among Asian Americans in the U.S.

Overall, rates of child maltreatment among Asian Americans are disproportionately low compared to other racial and ethnic groups in the U.S. Data collected by the National Child Abuse and Neglect Data System indicates that Asian and Pacific Islander (API) children up to age 18 years had the lowest rate of maltreatment among all racial groups in 2004 at 3.5 per 1000 children, followed by Hispanics (10.4), Whites, (10.7), Native Americans (15.5), and African Americans (19.9) (Children's Bureau, 2006). Of note, Asian and Pacific Islander children are underrepresented among maltreated children: in the NCANDS data mentioned earlier, Asian and Pacific Islanders comprised 4.0 percent of all children but only 1.2 percent of maltreated children. While African Americans were disproportionally overrepresented, Whites and Hispanics were also underrepresented. This low rate of maltreatment among Asian American children has also been documented in other studies conducted among API communities in the U.S.

(Futa, Hsu, and Hansen, 2001; Hahm and Guterman, 2001; Ima and Hohm, 1991; Kenny and McEachern, 2000; Pelczarski and Kemp, 2006).

One study conducted utilizing suspected child maltreatment cases in Asian and Pacific Islander families reported from July 1995 to June 1997 to the Washington State Division of Child and Family Services Case and Management Information System that included Asian Indian participants found highly variable prevalence rates of child maltreatment across Asian American ethnic subgroups (Pelczarski and Kemp, 2006). Specifically, this study found that Asian Indian, Cambodian, Hawaiian, Laotian, Thai, and Vietnamese families were overrepresented in child maltreatment compared to their representation in Washington's overall Asian and Pacific Islander population while Chinese, Filipino, Japanese, and Korean families were underrepresented.

According to administrative data from the Children's Bureau, Asian Americans have a high rate of physical abuse and a low rate of neglect and sexual abuse compared to other racial and ethnic groups and to the national average. This finding is corroborated by studies done in the U.S. among Asian Americans and studies done in some Asian countries (Chang, Rhee, and Weaver, 2006; Rhee et al., 2008; Ima and Hohm, 1991; Lau et al., 2003; Maker, Shah, and Agha, 2005; Pelczarski and Kemp, 2006). While studies focused on sexual abuse have concluded that Asian American children experience less invasive forms of sexual abuse than other groups, it is also projected that up to 80 percent of sexual abuse cases are not reported and thus, the incidence of sexual abuse is likely to be significantly underestimated (Kenny and McEachern, 2000; Rao, DiCelemente, and Ponton, 1992).

When examined by gender, no significant difference among child maltreatment victims in the U.S. is observed among boys and girls overall (Children's Bureau, 2006). In contrast, however, gender differences have been detected among Asian American children. In the study mentioned earlier conducted in Washington, researchers found that API girls were significantly more likely to be reported to child protective services than boys (63.4 percent versus 36.4 percent, respectively). This was found to be true for all API ethnic subgroups in the study, except Japanese children (Pelczarski and Kemp, 2006). A study comparing differences in type of maltreatment by gender in a sample of API immigrant and refugee families residing in San Diego and the U.S. population observed that boy victims in API immigrant and refugee families were more likely to be neglected than girls compared to those in the U.S. population, but that the distribution of physical abuse by gender was similar in both samples. Girl victims in the API immigrant and refugee sample, however, were more likely to report emotional abuse than boys compared to those in the U.S. population (Ima and Hohm, 1991).

In a systematic review describing the main characteristics of child maltreatment among Asian Americans identified in existing literature, Zhai and Gao (2009) also present a theoretical framework (figure 2.1) to explain these characteristics in the context of the Asian American experience and overarching cultural values. In summary, they posit that while some protective factors such as the importance of family unity and reputation and a special fondness towards infants and toddlers may result in lower likelihoods of child maltreatment among Asian American communities, other factors such as parental authority and beliefs in physical punishment, high expectations of children, minority status, stress due to acculturation and assimilation, and

misunderstanding, discrimination and/or miscommunication on the part of professionals and providers may lead to higher probabilities of child maltreatment. The authors also recognize that many cultural values, such as obedience to parents and elders, sensitivity around immigration status issues, and taboo of sexuality, may also inhibit the incidence of child maltreatment among this community from being divulged. Thus, they explain that the overall low incidence of child maltreatment among the Asian American community is likely due to both underreporting and low incidence.

Moreover, Zhai and Gao (2009) emphasize that while certain Asian American subgroups have been studied frequently in the limited research on child maltreatment (i.e. Chinese, Japanese, Korean, and Vietnamese), Asian Indians are among the subgroups that are much less frequently researched in this area. They suggest that understudied Asian American subgroups deserve targeted research in this area, as different Asian societies do not necessarily share the same cultural practices or experiences. While Asian societies do share many similar traditions, they vary as a result of differences at the individual level (such as country of origin, years residing in the U.S., generation status, level of education, SES, acculturation, etc.) and at the subgroup level (such as religion, language, cultural values, history, etc.) (Zhai and Gao, 2009). This underscores the heterogeneity in the API community and the importance of exploring how notable cultural beliefs and practices, such as son preference, may influence child maltreatment. This study sought to address this gap among Indian immigrants in an effort to explore and better understand instances of daughter neglect and the potential outcomes it may take outside of the community's natal context.

With regard to services provided by community members, professionals, organizations, and social service agencies, a better understanding of the issues of abuse and neglect as they pertain specifically to Asian American families is necessary. According to the Coalition for Asian American Children and Families, social service agencies are in dire need of education to understand Asian American family dynamics that vary significantly from Western traditions in addition to access to translation/interpretation services who understand not only Asian American language but also their immigrant experience and culture. In addition, the Coalition suggests public education campaigns for Asian immigrant communities to clarify local child abuse and neglect laws and to pass along parent education materials in multiple languages in culturally sensitive, family friendly ways (Coalition for Asian American Children and Families, 2001). For this reason, key informants were identified as important to include in the initial phase of this project to better understand the availability of culturally sensitive services in the community and the community's relationship with such organizations.

Thus, the following section applies some of the aforementioned research to date along with certain theoretical perspectives in a conceptual framework that provided a foundation for exploring son preference and daughter neglect in this research and that guided the collection and analysis of data.

### **Conceptual Framework**

The theories and frameworks described in this section provided a foundation for exploring son preference and daughter neglect in this study. Ecological systems theory acknowledges the total context of an individual and considers development on multiple levels in several settings, and is supplemented by a framework that offers an

understanding of elements contributory to child maltreatment among Asian American cultural backgrounds.

### ***Ecological Systems Theory***

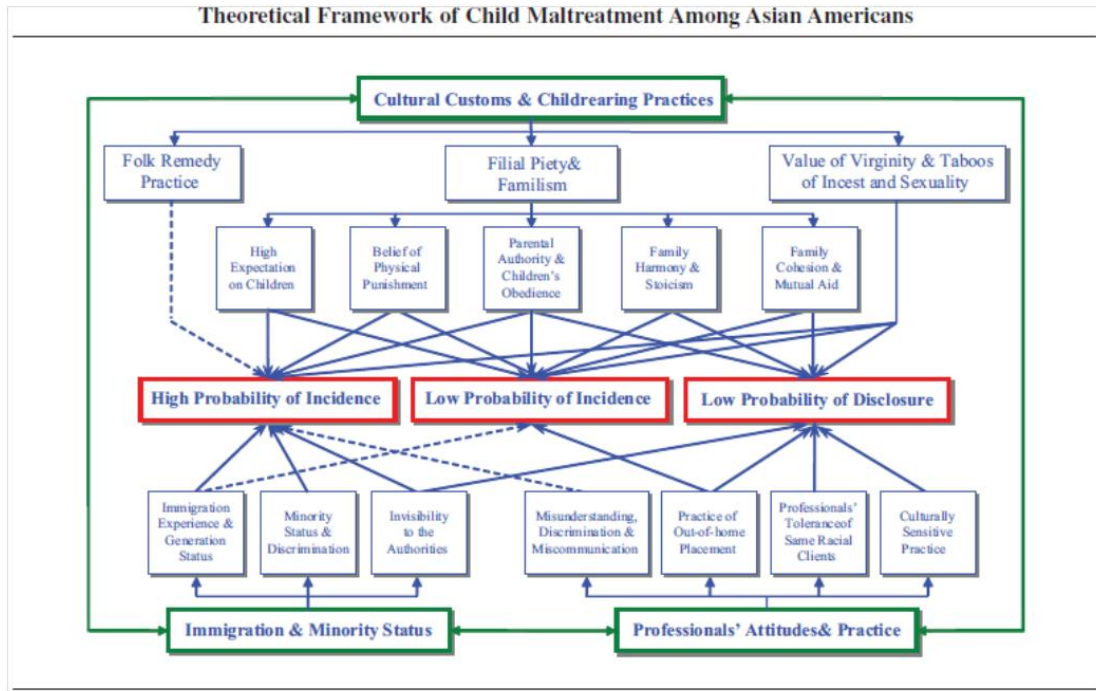
This theory illustrates the complex and mutual interrelationships among various levels of influence, including macro, exo, meso, and micro-level factors (Bronfenbrenner, 1979). According to Bronfenbrenner (1979), the outermost macro level encompasses sociocultural norms, policies, and values. The next level, known as the exosystem, comprises influences such as community health services and educational or career opportunities that impact the meso level determinants of more proximal community and social resources. The mesosystem is also representative of the interactions between the various players of the microsystem, which includes factors most proximal to an individual such as individual characteristics, psychosocial factors, family, and peers. An ecological perspective perceives "...individuals and their environments as mutually shaping systems, each changing over time, each adapting in response to changes in the other" (Garbarino and Abramowitz, 1992). Thus, this theory emphasizes reciprocal contextual influences and the microsystem will be the main focus of this study.

### ***Child Maltreatment Theoretical Framework***

Zhai and Gao (2009) have proposed a theoretical explanatory framework for child maltreatment among Asian Americans (figure 2.1) by systematically reviewing the limited existing literature on how cultural customs, childrearing practices, immigration experiences, minority status, and attitudes and practices of social service professionals affect child maltreatment in this community. While they recommend extensive future research with a nationally representative sample of Asian Americans to "evaluate,

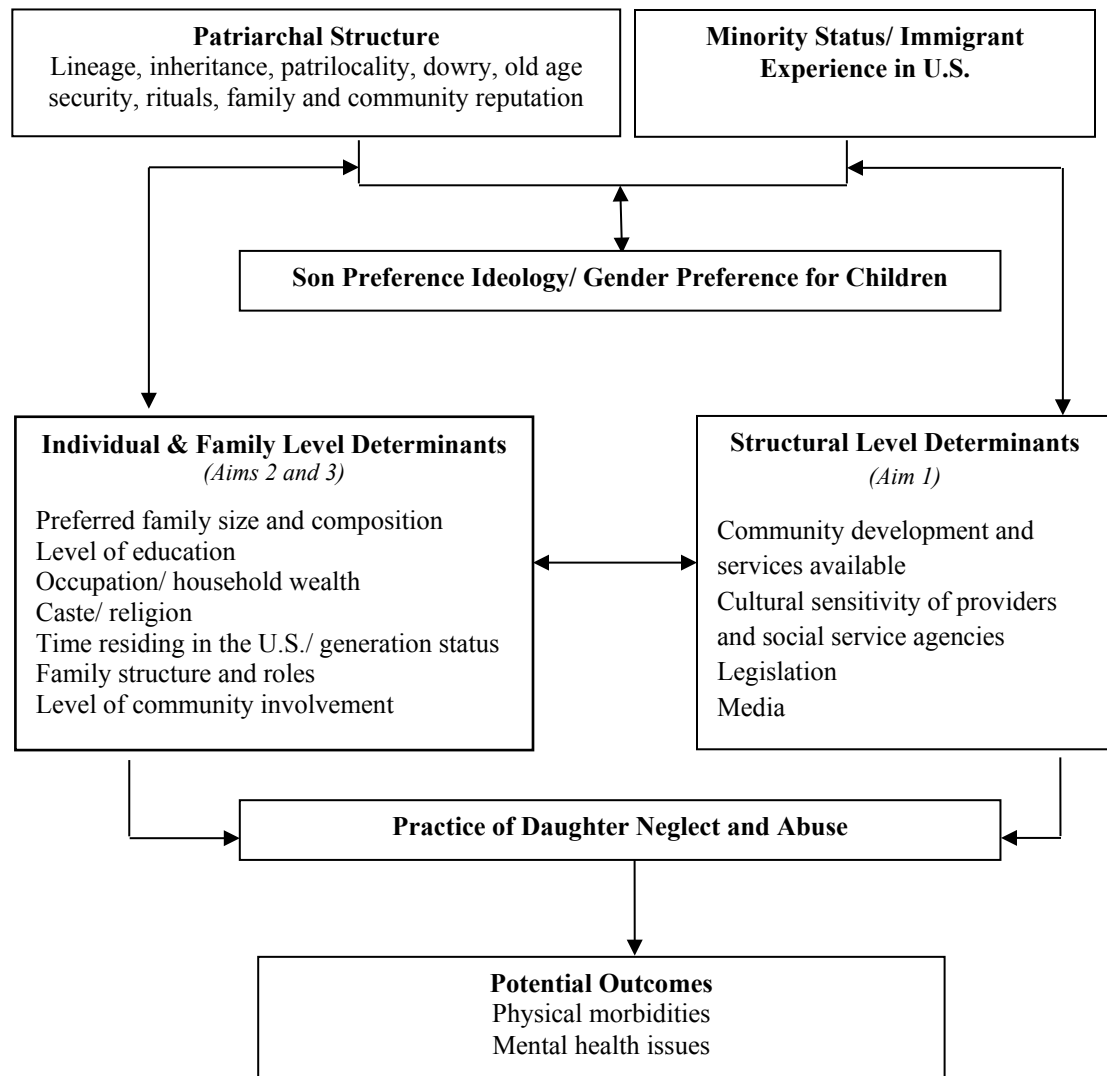
modify, and strengthen the explanatory power of the proposed conceptual framework” (Zhai and Gao, 2009, p. 222), the framework provides a significant contribution to Asian American health literature, a starting point for further research, and has significant implications for practitioners and researchers.

**Figure 2.1:**



Of note, however, their framework does not take cultural gender preference into account. Thus, the conceptual framework adapted for this study (figure 2.2) is guided by ecological systems theory with some elements from the Zhai and Gao (2009) framework, and is adapted from one proposed by Nanda et al. (2009) in a comparative analysis of policy interventions in India and China to address discrimination against girls. This research focused predominantly on the individual and family level determinants in addition to community services and cultural sensitivity of providers and social service agencies on the structural determinant side of the framework (figure 2.2).

**Figure 2.2:** Conceptual Framework- Son Preference & Daughter Neglect among Indian Immigrants in the U.S.



Key informant interviews were utilized to collect information from professionals about the first two items in the structural level determinants box in the framework, and were the focus of aim one in this research. For aims two and three, a questionnaire gathered information on family composition, level of education, and occupation/ household wealth from the individual level determinants box in the framework while information on family structure and roles, caste/religion, generation status/ number of years residing in the U.S., level of involvement with community, and perceptions of son



preference and daughter neglect were gathered through in-depth interviews. The following chapter further elaborates on the details of this study's methodology.

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### **Chapter 3: Methodology**

This study utilized a qualitative approach, including key informant interviews among professionals in the community who have worked with Punjabi-Sikhs and broader groups of South Asians, and in-depth interviews with individuals who occupy the roles of daughters, sons, wives/mothers, and husbands/ fathers in Punjabi Sikh families.

Qualitative approaches have been utilized in many instances among South Asian populations to better understand the complex social and cultural underpinnings of issues related to gender, child maltreatment, women's health, and reproductive health and wellbeing (Anitha, 2011; Banerjee, 2001; Hurwitz et al., 2006; Hyder and Malik, 2007; Johnston et al., 2003; Talbani and Hasanali, 2000; Wilson-Williams et al., 2008). The use of a qualitative approach in this study was especially fitting as it offered participants the opportunity to reveal detailed individual and familial perspectives and sensitive experiences, while also allowing for flexibility to explore the cultural values behind attitudes and behaviors related to son preference and any new ideas that emerged during the data collection process.

This chapter reiterates the specific aims and then describes the study design and sample, study procedures, and data analysis process.

#### **Research Aims**

This study sought to engage professionals in health, education and social services; husbands and sons; and wives and daughters, in an effort to better understand their perspectives and experiences with the phenomenon of son preference and its impact on daughters.

## ***Phase One***

### **Aim 1-**

To explore the manifestations of daughter neglect among Punjabi Sikh immigrant families from the perspective and experience of health, education, and social service professionals.

#### ***Sub-Aim 1A-***

To examine whether there is a difference in professionals' views of daughter neglect by racial/ethnic or cultural background.

#### ***Sub-Aim 1B-***

To examine the types of neglect practitioners are most aware of and whether the predominant manifestations of neglect vary by a daughter's age.

## ***Phase Two***

### **Aim 2-**

To explore perceptions of son preference and daughter neglect among unmarried sons and daughters from Punjabi Sikh families.

#### ***Sub-Aim 2A-***

To examine whether there is a difference in the perceptions of son preference and daughter neglect between sons and daughters.

#### ***Sub-Aim 2B-***

To examine whether there is a difference in the perceptions of son preference and daughter neglect by generation status or length of time residing in the U.S.

#### ***Sub-Aim 2C-***

To examine whether there is a difference in the perceptions of son preference and daughter neglect based on the age and sex of their sibling(s).

### Aim 3-

To explore perceptions of son preference and daughter neglect among Punjabi Sikh immigrant husbands and wives.

#### *Sub-Aim 3A-*

To examine whether there is a difference in the perceptions of son preference and daughter neglect between husbands and wives.

#### *Sub-Aim 3B-*

To examine whether there is a difference in the perceptions of son preference and daughter neglect by generation status or length of time residing in the U.S.

#### *Sub-Aim 3C-*

To examine whether there is a difference in the perceptions of son preference and daughter neglect by childrens' birth order/ age and sex composition.

### **Study Design and Sample**

A qualitative study was carried out with residents of the Northern California Bay Area. Using qualitative methodologies, namely key informant interviews in phase one and in-depth interviews in phase two, this study collected primary data from professionals and community leaders who provide services to South Asians along with male and female members of Punjabi Sikh families (table 3.1). With this sample, saturation was reached in interviews with wives, sons, and daughters upon the completion of data collection. As was expected with the study topic, husbands were a challenging subgroup to recruit and many different approaches were tried to facilitate participation



among married males. After trying various approaches, the research team was finally able to conduct interviews with two husbands. Thus, while their voice is represented in this study, further research is warranted to ensure a more nuanced and accurate understanding of their experiences and perspectives on the topic.

**Table 3.1:** Study Population

<i><b>Study Group</b></i>	<i><b>Data Collection Method</b></i>	<i><b>Sample Size</b></i>	<i><b>Description of Sample</b></i>
Community organizers and professionals in health and education	Key Informant Interviews	N= 17  17 interviews	-5 community organizers -4 domestic violence agency community outreach managers/educators -5 mental health professionals (licensed marriage and family therapist, school counselor, social worker) -1 pediatrician -1 nurse -1 domestic violence/ gender-based violence resource center program coordinator
Daughters (young women )	In-depth Interviews	N= 14  14 interviews	Age 18-24 years of age, unmarried, born in the U.S. or immigrated from North India at a young age
Sons (young men)	In-depth Interviews	N= 11  11 interviews	Age 18-24 years of age, unmarried, born in the U.S. or immigrated from North India at a young age
Wives (married women with children)	In-depth Interviews	N= 6  6 interviews	At least 21 years of age, married, born in North India, at least 2 children
Husbands (married men with children)	In-depth Interviews, Online Survey	N= 2  2 interviews	At least 21 years of age, married, born in North India, at least 2 children

## **Data Collection and Study Procedures**

### ***Phase One: Key Informant Interviews***

#### Development of Data Collection Instruments

Key informant interview guides (Appendix II) were created in phase one of the study to explore instances of son preference that community leaders and health and education professionals have come across in working with the Punjabi Sikh or broader South Asian population in Northern California. These guides were informed by preliminary, informal research done among Indian American communities in the Bay Area (Jesudason, 2011) and were created specifically to focus on the key research domains. Topics covered in the interviews included background information on the type of organization or initiative individuals are affiliated with; the organization or agency's mission, goals, and years in existence; the individual's role in the organization/community; manifestations of son preference they have come across in working with the community; community perceptions of gender and gender roles; suggestions on broaching a sensitive, taboo topic with male and female members of the community; and how they have responded if children, adolescents, or parents have confided in them regarding instances of daughter neglect.

Additionally, key informants were asked about scenarios or types of situations they would recommend utilizing as vignettes for the in-depth interview guide used in phase two of the study, based on situations they had come across in their work. All questions were open-ended to capture the range of experiences and views on the primary focus areas of son preference, the treatment of daughters, and gender roles, given that most had never discussed this topic in a systematic way for the purpose of better

understanding the phenomenon in this community. Many open-ended questions were followed with more specific probes, and the open-ended questions were occasionally adapted based on informants' responses or information that arose in other key informant interviews as the study progressed.

Although all key informants were asked if they would be willing to provide input on vignettes and in-depth interview instruments for phase two of the study and most were, only two individuals ultimately provided feedback. These individuals were more closely involved in working with Punjabi Sikhs in the Bay Area than the other key informants. Slight edits were made to interview guides based on their feedback to improve question clarity and understanding, and value of information obtained. Mock interviews were then eventually conducted with two sons, two daughters, one wife, and one husband that led to additional minor modifications prior to use with in-depth interview participants.

### Sample Selection and Recruitment

For phase one of this study, a listing of all organizations, coalitions, and community-based groups serving South Asian Americans was created. From this list, key informants were purposively selected based on organizational focus area and expertise. Additional informants were selected based on recommendations or referrals from initial contacts.

### ***Phase Two: In-Depth Interviews***

#### Development of Data Collection Instruments

Background questionnaires (Appendix III- C, D, E) were created for the purpose of collecting demographic information from all participants of phase two during

recruitment. These questionnaires gathered information on age, place of birth and upbringing, educational degree attainment (and that of parents for sons and daughters), occupation (and occupation of parents for sons and daughters), age at marriage (for husbands and wives), household composition (members of household; sex and ages of children or siblings), and age of and reason for immigration to the U.S.

In-depth interview guides for phase two were created after the completion of phase one, with input from key informant interviews on vignette use and development and key question topics. Although two separate in-depth interview guides were created for sons and daughters (Appendix III-J) and husbands and wives (Appendix III- H, I), the vignettes utilized were the same for both guides so responses from different subgroups to the same vignettes could be compared. For sons and daughters, key topics included in the in-depth interview guide aside from vignettes included family caste identification, desired family size, role in family, sibling's role in family, family decision-making, and significance of sons and daughters. Similarly, key topics included in the interview guide for husbands and wives included caste identification, desired family size, role in family, spouse's role in family, family decision-making, expectations of children, and significance of sons and daughters.

#### Sample Selection and Recruitment

For the recruitment of husbands, wives, sons, and daughters in phase two of this study, a running compilation of community centers, college campuses, youth conferences/ retreats, and upcoming cultural and religious events was created. Due to issues of stigma and sensitivity around the topic, participants were purposively and

snowball sampled to ensure they were willing to openly share their thoughts and experiences.

Husbands and wives were recruited face-to-face by a member of the research team. Inclusion criteria for married males and females was as follows: age 21 years or over with at least two children, born in north India, and currently settled in the Northern California Bay Area. Sons and daughters were eligible to participate if they met the following criteria: age 18 to 24 years, unmarried, have at least one sibling, and their parents were born and raised in north India while they themselves were either born in the U.S. or immigrated here at a young age. The study was explained verbally in Punjabi or English and those who were interested in participating were asked a series of background questions to assess whether they met the inclusion criteria. If inclusion criteria were satisfied, they were followed up via email or phone (as preferred) to schedule a date, time, and location for the in-person or phone (as preferred) interview.

As recruitment and data collection progressed and it became apparent that recruiting husbands for participation in in-depth interviews was especially challenging, an additional data collection method for this subgroup was added to the study process. Husbands who expressed interest in participating either in face-to-face interactions with members of the research team or through snowball sampling and who met inclusion criteria were also given the option of completing an online survey version of the background questionnaire and interview should they prefer this to an in-person or phone interview. They were emailed at the address they provided with an introduction from the research team and a link to the online survey (Appendix III-N).

While sons and daughters were recruited via face-to face interactions, they were also recruited via listserv postings to cultural or religious community and campus groups. Sons and daughters who responded to a recruitment email were asked to provide a phone number at which they can be reached to administer oral consent, the background questionnaire, and to schedule a date, time, and location for the in-person or phone (as preferred) interview.

Participants were also recruited through the distribution of fliers at events or fliers posted on community billboards. These fliers (Appendix III- O, P) included an overview of study information so interested individuals could get in touch with the study contact by phone or email at their convenience at an email address and phone number created specifically for this study.

### ***Training of Research Assistants***

Research assistants were recruited via college and community listservs and by word-of-mouth. All research assistants identified as Punjabi Sikh themselves and were fluent in Punjabi. In July 2013, six research assistants were recruited: five females and one male ranging from 20 to 61 years of age. One additional research assistant, a female undergraduate, joined the project in September. Once the research assistants completed the necessary human subjects ethics module, training was conducted to ensure they could confidently recruit participants, conduct interviews, and transcribe interviews if desired.

More specifically, their training encompassed the following:

- an outline of the study background, research aims, and significance;
- suggestions and discussion of study procedures, recruitment opportunities, interview questions;

- an overview of the difference between qualitative and quantitative approaches to research and key qualitative research theories, principles, and methods;
- a synopsis of human subject research ethics considerations and ensuring their own safety while attending recruitment events and conducting interviews;
- how to approach individuals at community events, share information with them about the study, assess their eligibility and comfort level for participation, and schedule a date, time and location for their interview;
- how to practice interview skills and make the necessary preparations prior to each interview (avoiding leading questions, avoiding yes/no questions, probing, ensuring the proper equipment is ready such as digital recorder, in-depth interview guide, pad and pencil);
- how to conduct the in-depth interviews (carefully reviewing the interview guide before each interview, assessing the participant's level of comfort and privacy, how to begin the interview with more general, less sensitive questions that allow the participant to open up, when to use silence versus additional questions as a probe, gauging the participant's response by observing their gestures, tone and mannerism, how to end the interview);
- how to gather information on participant gift card preferences;
- procedures to take following completion of each interview (saving the audio file from the digital recorder, documenting post-interview reflections, keeping notes in a safe, secure space); and
- preferences for regular research team meetings and ongoing communication.

All research assistants participated in mock interviews to practice their interview skills and their response to unanticipated issues or reactions that could arise during actual interviews. By October, only two regular research assistants remained on the project: one female and one male who were both undergraduate students. Feedback and reflection from research assistants about study procedures and tools was encouraged throughout the study. Regular weekly meetings were held by phone or in-person and communication between the student researcher and research assistants was ongoing throughout the study.

### ***Protection of Human Subjects***

Prior to initiating this study, human subjects ethics approval was obtained from the Johns Hopkins Bloomberg School of Public Health Institutional Review Board (IRB). Any changes to research protocol over the course of the study were submitted to the IRB as amendments for review and approval before moving forward. Moreover, all research assistants adhered to IRB policies for the addition of study personnel. This entailed completing an online research ethics training curriculum along with an investigator/ study staff agreement form. The recruitment and informed consent process, participant compensation policy, risks and benefits, and steps taken to minimize risks are described below.

### **Informed Consent**

Consent from key informants for phase one of this study was obtained orally by the interviewer, who read the consent script in English and queried the participant for any questions and understanding.

In phase two, there were two opportunities to obtain consent: once during the original recruitment and background questionnaire administration (Appendix III- A, B);



and secondly, before the in-depth interview was conducted (Appendix III- F, G). For both occasions, consent was obtained orally by the interviewer, who read the consent script in English or Punjabi (as preferred by the participant). Given that this study involved working with an immigrant community and there is often a concern about documentation status among the participants, a waiver of signed consent was requested and approved during the IRB review process.

When an online survey option for husbands was added in phase two at a later course in the study, a consent script similar to that administered orally to participants had to be read prior to proceeding with the online survey (Appendix III-M).

#### Participant Compensation

At the initiation of this study, no funding was available to offer compensation to respondents. Once a dissertation award was granted at a later course in the study, an IRB amendment was submitted to approve participant compensation.

Participants were offered a \$10 Target or Starbucks gift card after completing the in-depth interview as remuneration for graciously sharing their time and insights. They were asked how they would like to receive their gift card at the end of each interview. Participants who had already participated prior to the compensation policy being in place were contacted once at the preferred method of communication they provided during recruitment to offer them the compensation and arrangements were made to get the compensation to them as preferred.

Key informants did not receive financial compensation for their participation.

## Risks and Benefits

Minimal risks were anticipated for key informants due to the fact that the questions posted to them were not personal in nature and not about individual living people. Additionally, their identity was kept confidential and their responses were anonymous.

Because sharing personal experiences and perspectives of son preference can be a sensitive topic, there was a risk that respondents in phase two of the study could become anxious, uncomfortable, or emotionally upset during the interview. Steps taken to minimize this risk and threats to confidentiality are described in the following section.

Aside from the minor remuneration provided to respondents for sharing their time and insights, there was no direct benefit to participants in this study. However, one potential benefits for participants of this study may have applied most intimately to individuals who appreciated the opportunity to openly discuss their experiences and views with a secretive and stigmatizing issue for the first time, as they may not otherwise seek this out and who may find the opportunity to express themselves therapeutic or cathartic. Additionally, those who participated in this study were informed during the consent process that the information they provide could benefit their local and greater communities by allowing for a better understanding of son preference as an ideology, daughter neglect, and their repercussions for girls, women, families, and communities. If participants did not ask themselves, they were asked by the interviewer at the end of their interview if they would like to be notified of results or invited to a future community meeting where study results and recommendations will be discussed.

### Steps Taken to Minimize Risk

To address any risks to privacy during the recruitment process, sons and daughters were recruited by reaching out to youth listservs or on college campuses, where their parents and other family members were not likely to be present. Husbands and wives were recruited by male and female members of the research team, respectively. To ensure they were not at risk of any tension or rebuke from their spouses or families for considering participation in a study of this topic or for talking to someone unknown to the family, recruitment of wives took place at religious and/or cultural events catered to women or where women are more likely to participate without the rest of their families.

During the interview process, perspectives on more sensitive materials were asked through the use of vignettes in order to make the interview process less personal, less threatening, and more comfortable. All members of the research team were instructed on observing respondent gestures and tone of voice for signs of distress. In addition, participants were told that if they preferred not to answer any questions, they were not required to do so, and could pause the interview at any time. If any participant felt additional stress after the interview, to address any suspicions of abuse, and if participants wanted to speak further about any issues or experiences, as standard protocol each participant was offered information in English or Punjabi about local organizations that help South Asian individuals and families with domestic and family violence, emotional abuse, or family conflict through language-specific and culturally-sensitive services (Appendix III- K, L).

To minimize threats to confidentiality, no identifiers aside from the information collection in the initial background questionnaire were collected from participants. All

participants were assured that no personal identifying information and only coded identification numbers would be recorded or collected in any of the actual data collection procedures. All digital data/ audio recordings were kept on a password protected laptop computer while any hard copies were kept in a secure area with access limited to the doctoral student investigator. All versions of data will be destroyed when all analyses and final reporting have been completed.

### **Data Analysis**

Qualitative data analysis in this study were guided by a constructivist paradigm, which asserts that meaning is constructed through engagement with realities in the world and thus, both the researcher's own views and the unique situations and contexts of participants shape data collection and analysis (Crotty, 1998). Transcripts from key informant interviews with professionals and in-depth interviews with sons, daughters, husbands and wives were all utilized during the analysis. Data were stored, organized and coded using ATLAS.ti qualitative data analysis software (ATLAS.ti, 2012).

Each interview was fully transcribed within 24 to 48 hours of conducting the interview. Analysis of the qualitative data texts continued concurrently with data collection and even after data collection was completed. As more information was gathered, this iterative process permitted the primary researcher to become immersed in the data and familiarized with emerging concepts and themes so interview guides and recurring themes could be continually refined. Memoing was also employed for the primary investigator to engage in a self-reflective journaling process of documenting reflections, notes and questions about emerging ideas, themes, and ideas as they evolved over the course of the study (Charmaz, 2006, Creswell, 2007). Research assistants were

consulted throughout the process to ensure that experiences, perceptions and meanings were being accurately interpreted and captured over the course of analysis. Matrices were also generated in meetings with research assistants during the data reduction process for certain themes and codes in order to explore the data visually and to better understand how specific participant responses related to the rest of the data.

The inductive thematic analysis approach used for this study followed the Miles and Huberman (1994) perspective of data analysis and encompassed coding the data, combining the codes into broader categories and themes, and then noting relationships among categories to make descriptive comparisons. Throughout the data collection process, transcripts were repeatedly read and examined for a thorough level of familiarity with and immersion in the data.

Coding thus took place in an iterative manner. At first, initial codes were developed by identifying meaningful fragments within the transcripts and assigning names to those segments. While *a priori* codes are often used in qualitative research to further explore or build on concepts discovered in previous research (Crabtree and Miller, 1992), they were not utilized in this study in order to ensure that pre-figured categories did not limit the analysis and that the codes truly reflected the views of participants, especially in light of the exploratory nature of this research. Therefore, codes were inductive and arose from ideas and themes in the data. As transcripts were read and reread, codes were added, removed, modified or combined to best represent the collective information in the transcripts. After final codes were decided on, all transcripts were reviewed again and coded based on the finalized codes. This facilitated the process of recognizing connections between concepts and ideas and identifying broad categories, or

themes, which emerged from the data. Results were analyzed for each respondent group separately using the same process and then comparative analyses between different subgroups were conducted. The key themes for each respondent group are presented in subsequent chapters.

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## **Chapter 4: Results of Key Informant Interviews**

### **(Phase One- Aim One)**

Key informants were interviewed to explore the prevalence of attitudes and behaviors supportive of son preference in the Punjabi Sikh community and the ways in which these attitudes and behaviors were perceived or observed to influence the upbringing of daughters. They were also asked to suggest scenarios or types of situations for vignettes that would be utilized during in-depth interviews with sons, daughters, wives, and husbands.

#### **Description of Sample**

While 32 individuals were contacted, participants for phase one of this study included seventeen community leaders and professionals in the sphere of health and medicine (i.e. teachers, counselors, mental health providers, pediatricians) who provided services directly to Punjabi Sikhs and/or the broader South Asian community in the Bay Area. These seventeen key informants occupied the following roles in the community: domestic violence agency community outreach managers/ educators, mental health professionals (licensed marriage and family therapist, school counselor, social worker), community organizers, pediatrician, nurse, and domestic violence/ gender-based violence resource center program coordinator. With the exception of one male, all informants were female, and sixteen informants identified as South Asian themselves. Of these, four expressed specifically being of Punjabi background and belonging to the Punjabi Sikh community.

#### **Major Themes**

Five main themes emerged from the analysis of key informant interviews. These themes included overall thoughts on son preference, patriarchy, and family violence;



experiences with emotional, physical and verbal neglect towards girls and young women in the community; its impact on daughters' development and overall wellbeing; rationalization of the treatment of women and girls in the community; and the unexpected persistence of traditional ways of thinking in the younger generation. What follows is an explanation of each of these themes and a description of vignettes that were developed in collaboration with key informants.

### ***Son Preference, Patriarchy, and Encounters with Family Abuse among Key Informants***

Most informants shared their overall experience with abuse in the community as it relates to son preference and patriarchy, and nearly all had encountered significant instances of wives experiencing domestic violence at the hand of their husbands. As one informant who worked as a domestic violence agency outreach worker shared, son preference and patriarchy permeated all aspects of her agency's work and strongly correlated with abuse. When probed about how she specifically confronted son preference in her agency, she shared the following:

I guess just the same as everywhere in the culture. Just in every aspect of women's lives. Starting from forced abortions, starting from saying or threatening that "if you have another girl child I'm going to send you back home," or saying "I'm going to divorce you because you cannot produce male children," to pretty much not having any reproductive rights, marital rape and what's worse than marital rape is not knowing that rape within marriage is rape, to you know smaller things like being made responsible for anything that goes wrong in the family, to saying "oh you know you might work, you might bring in money, but you still need to do everything a 'good' mother of a child is supposed to do so you know, you need to cook, you need to clean," you know just every, pretty much every aspect of gender equity we see in society around us is also present in an abusive relationship (K01).

Another informant, who worked as a community organizer for the Punjabi community and connects individuals with social service agencies to address their needs and facilitates

these interactions, estimated that nearly 30 percent of the abuse encountered in their service agency is directly related to not having male offspring. Additionally, key informants shared that women occasionally discussed their husbands' substance abuse in the context of domestic violence. Informants who shared this sentiment felt substance abuse by males was one of the primary health issues in the community.

Although informants affiliated with domestic violence agencies had seen both male and female clients, male clients were much rarer. Informants also expressed that the social circumstance of living as an immigrant significantly impacts the experience of abuse and the ability to do something about it, most notably for women. The majority of these cases deal with husbands who hold H-1 visas, which allow U.S. employers to temporarily hire foreign workers in specialty occupations (such as those employed in technological companies), and their spouses with H-4 visas, which are visas for spouses and children under the age of 21 years of H-1 visa holders. While H-4 visa holders are able to attend school as full- or part-time students, they are not permitted to work without authorization. The quote below highlights the frustrations of having only an H-4 visa as a woman:

I don't see many H-4 men somehow. I see a lot more women on H-4. So, the dependent citizenship status really, you know, screws you up. You may have a child who is a citizen of this country in which case you cannot leave, you know, and take the child with you, say if you're being abused. On the other hand, if you stay your ground and apply for divorce here, the minute you get the divorce you're going to lose status and so anyways, even if you exit an abusive home, how would you work? Because you're on an H-4 you cannot support yourself. So all of that is something we see a lot for women. And following that is the other things, right? Employment, self-sufficiency, many women don't learn to drive when they come to a new country. So all of those things...the dependency factor is a little different (K01).

Related to this, nearly all informants shared that intimate partner violence and child abuse typically appeared concurrently in families and homes.

...I think statistically, it's like over 60 percent of children who grow up in domestic violence or violence-ridden households are themselves victims of abuse too- beyond just witnessing the domestic violence. So it's a huge correlation between domestic violence and child abuse. And then also, not just from the abusive party who's abusing the other parent. Sometimes the parent who is being abused abuses the children (K02).

This occurrence of the abused adult in the home, typically the mother, then abusing the children came up repeatedly. Informants described issues of power and control, and an outlet for the abused adult's frustration as reasons for abuse that were transferred through the household in this way:

Often, the parent who is experiencing domestic violence himself or herself has no control over the situation so in moments of frustration, they do take out their anger on their children. And that has happened as well. And so, it gets even more convoluted when you go into that, because it's a different dynamic: the victim of domestic violence is creating a different dynamic of power and control over a subject that's much less strong than them, has less control over the situation... so children are easily victimized in those situations. Our program does focus on providing children counseling as well, individually and separate from the mother's/woman's counseling (K02).

Another informant who had also commonly encountered this transmission of abuse in the household shared the importance of not pointing fingers at men when managing and addressing the situation in community-based programs and discussions:

I think we need to somehow also mention in it, it's the patriarchy, or... Paolo Freire in his book, "The Pedagogy of the Oppressed," I think he mentions somewhere that the oppression, that people who are oppressed start oppressing their own kind. I think we need to somehow also understand that somehow we can't just keep blaming because then they're going to blame even further. Then the men have this beautiful avenue to get out of it: "Oh we are very good people. We don't do anything, it's the women who eat each other up." Then they stand back, and then they laugh....as if they have no role to play" (K03).

Aligned with this sentiment, many informants expressed that women rarely supported women and in actuality, often perpetuated attitudes and behaviors in favor of son preference and patriarchy by sharing experiences in which they suffered in the family and felt socially shunned because they did not have a male child or tried to exert their independence in some way. Those that did not produce a male child in their first pregnancy were often expected to undergo closely spaced pregnancies and/or some form(s) of sex selection until a male child was produced. While mother-in-laws and husbands were described as the key sources of pressure to produce male children, key informants shared that women also felt pressure from the extended family and other females in the community to whom they were not necessarily related.

### ***Emotional, Verbal, and Physical Abuse towards Daughters***

Informants shared a wide array of gender discrimination and violence experienced by daughters of different ages. As one key informant described:

And part of that is you know sex selective abortion pre-birth because that's definitely gender discrimination but some of that also includes maybe not being fed as well as the male children, not giving proper education as the male children... Now here in the U.S., because of education laws, children have to be equally educated at least through high school and so there are some preventative measures in that but I still think parents do have a double standard when it comes to raising boys and girls... You know girls can't go out super late, or their curfew is a little bit earlier than boys and things like that. And it can go into a further, more extreme than just that as well. Definitely in immigrant communities, there's a huge parenting double standard when it comes to male children versus girl children (K02).

Nearly all key informants, even those whose jobs did not center on domestic violence, described instances of domestic abuse, neglect, and family violence that they had personally advised or heard of in their roles working with the South Asian community. The most common forms of neglect and differential treatment towards daughters in South

Asian homes were being breastfed less (if at all) or being offered less food than sons; having greater household chore responsibilities while also exerting immense pressure on academic achievement; focusing intensely on complexion and weight; being socialized from a very young age to be a good wife, mother, and daughter-in-law; not allowing opportunities for higher education or opportunities to live/study further from home; and being given less liberty and authority overall than their male siblings. Informants also described disturbing cases of abuse in which daughters witnessed their fathers abusing their mothers because she did not have a male child and then mothers in turn, physically abusing their daughters. One Punjabi Sikh informant, who works as a school counselor in a school district populated by many students belonging to Punjabi Sikh families, described a case in which an entire family, including a male sibling, physically and verbally abused a daughter as did her eventual foster family of the same cultural and religious background until she was legally able to live on her own.

### ***Impact of Maltreatment on Daughters***

All key informants strongly emphasized the mental and emotional repercussions on daughters of facing “continuous discrimination” from the time of birth and throughout their lives in the form of diminishing their body image and self-esteem through language and constant reminders that they are less than their male family members, all while enduring the responsibility of upholding their family’s reputation and honor in the eyes of the community. This sentiment of transferring feelings of remorse, guilt, and responsibility to daughters is echoed in the following statement:

Some clients are born and brought up here but have South Asian parents and I see a lot of commonalities within their mind. There are women who are brought up here, have jobs, may have gone to grad school or some schooling and they’re able to find a job, they have financial security...but

they are still trapped inside their minds is the way I think of it. I had a girl who called me and said “I have undergone a divorce four years back. But I live with my parents now and I have a grandmother in the house and she thinks that I can still patch up, she thinks that I was wrong to divorce.” And you know, I’m not surprised at the grandmother feeling that way but I was very surprised that this would affect this girl so deeply that she really felt the need for support from someone outside the family. I think we have really passed on that guilt and that overarching responsibility to keep a family together to our daughters. All of that passes down to the next generation (K01).

Moreover, three informants stressed the double jeopardy that girls in this community felt in facing discrimination from mainstream society, given their status as a minority group in the country, in addition to feeling unaccepted and demeaned by their own. In addition to comments from certain members of their families, girls also expressed feeling belittled from comments by “aunties,” or nonrelative women who were part of the social circle their families interacted with during cultural events and functions. This alluded to the recurring notion of gossip dominating concerns about what community members will think about the girl and thus, her family, and this in turn getting under the girls’ skin and dictating many of their thoughts, motivations and behaviors. While informants observed that most girls were overcome by this type of social and familial control, they knew that some girls also rebelled. One informant shared that a consistent complaint among Sikh mothers is that their adolescent daughters do not want to learn cooking, sewing and other traditional skills of a housewife. “Those kinds of deviations in our culture where young women don’t want to learn cooking because they are rebelling, it’s not that they don’t want to learn, they are just rebelling that we no longer want to be in that subservient role” (K03).

Despite these significant examples of physical, emotional, and verbal abuse, informants emphasized that there are likely still countless instances that are never

reported and individuals who do not seek services given the controversial and taboo nature of gender issues and emphasis on reputation in the close-knit community.

“People likely complain of differential treatment to their friends and family but possibly don’t seek outside help if there is not enough internal distress” (K11).

“Young people who have grown up here are very self-aware about what they want and need but still keep it from their families because of strong feelings of guilt and duty” (K08).

This is compounded in young girls who are restricted in their level of independence and are only permitted to leave the home when going to school or to cultural or religious functions with their families. Among the informants who served the community in their role as mental health workers (counselors, therapists, social workers) or outreach workers, they all felt that those who have sought help were more likely to be female, educated, and part of the younger generation (i.e. either they moved here from India at a young age or were born here)- an observation confirmed while recruiting for this study in that females were more willing to participate and share their experiences and perspectives. “Women tend to be more enthusiastic, thinking ‘Ok, here’s a space where I can share openly’” (K12). Mental health workers shared that common issues among females who seek counseling tend to be depression, abuse, lack of family communication, incest, and behavioral issues among school-age girls. Of note, while nearly all these issues were raised in many key informant interviews as health concerns for South Asian families, only one informant, a therapist, mentioned having clients who had experienced and shared their encounters with incest.

### ***Denial and Rationalization of Son Preference***

Having lived in the region for years and being part of the South Asian culture themselves, all key informants referred to the deeply entrenched and intertwined concepts of culture and social circumstances to explain the persistence of son preference and patriarchal ideology among the Bay Area South Asian community. These included the issue of immigration statuses that forced women to be entirely dependent on men, the expectation that well-trained girls would eventually become wives who would preserve their native cultural and religious values for future generations in this foreign land, and the notion that males would always be the primary wage earners in the family because women would need to attend to “women’s duties” for the household to function. Four informants, who identified themselves as Punjabi Sikh, additionally recognized the complete disconnect between Sikh religious values, which stress complete equality between men and women, and Punjabi cultural beliefs about typical gender roles and expectations:

In terms of this whole ideology of sex selective abortions or the discrimination between genders, this whole thing is precisely from that cultural point of view. Then they cannot even make a distinction between what religion says and what culture says- that’s another sad aspect. They equate somehow Sikhism with the cultural issues while the religion is very progressive- but they have no concept of it whether it’s progressive or not, they don’t even understand (K03).

Key informants also shared the ways in which both women and other members of the community not only internalized discriminatory treatment, but also excused it in the name of care and protection: “Girls will often share that there are things their brothers are allowed to do that they aren’t, but girls internalize it or say ‘I can see why my parents do or say that,’ or ‘I understand why they do or did that’” (K07).



In the greater community, community activists and organizers acknowledged that past efforts to address women's issues in both the larger South Asian and specific Punjabi Sikh communities were often met with resistance and denial, especially from men and those who comprised religious institution leadership. As one informant who has helped organize events to raise awareness of sex-selective abortion and domestic violence in the community described, "I still often hear, 'Why are you bringing this up? Why highlight negative aspects of our community'" (K09)? Additionally, informants felt that despite the range of socioeconomic statuses in the South Asian community and the myth of the model minority, many community members compare themselves to stereotypical perceptions of other minority groups and consider themselves superior. "Even South Asians themselves believe they are a model minority and as such, they don't always acknowledge having problems or seek help when they need it" (K08).

### ***Persistence of Son Preference***

Key informants shared that while they hoped traditional beliefs about son preference and patriarchy would not continue among the generation that immigrated here at a young age or that were born and raised here as they go on to raise families of their own, they were unsure if this was actually the case.

What is problematic for me, what is the MOST problematic is, that I was of the opinion that the second generation will not espouse the ideology of castism, and ideology of reactionary cultural values, of you know downriness, uh preferential of males versus females, and all these other backward reactionary rituals. Unfortunately, my anecdotal evidence is that this generation is equally espousing castism. So the young boys are wearing t-shirts saying *Jatt Punjabi* (a proud farming caste of Punjab) and then they are espousing the same kind of sexist remarks that are made in Punjab or in India, and they are saying them in high schools here, and that offends our young women (K03).

They felt that while some households had become more progressive in their ways of life and thinking as a result of moving to the U.S. and assimilating with the culture here, others held strongly to their roots and native upbringing by maintaining strict gender roles and power dynamics.

I have seen different generations, let's say the generation that is 70 or 80 years old now, even in India, where gender roles were very strict defined um as in the dad would go outside and do whatever needs to be done but the mom would stay at home and manage everything in the house. There were gender roles, and very strict gender defined roles there, but there was no power imbalance. I have seen some households operate that way. So I think that's the same thing here too. There are households where there are rigid gender roles, stereotypes, and no power imbalances, and then there are some with very, very strict, rigid gender roles and imbalanced power, as in whether you work within the house or outside the house you still have no power; you can't make your decisions, and you definitely can't make my decisions... I will make the decisions. And that, I don't even know, I want to say that is typically a little better in this generation but I'm really not too sure (K01).

Punjabi Sikh informants felt that some members of the Punjabi Sikh community were especially holding fast to traditional household dynamics in light of post 9/11 discrimination and hate crimes directed towards community members who had maintained the physical Sikh identity. They described community members maintaining even closer ties to those who had come from similar parts of India and Punjab and shared their immigrant experience, and to their religious community network in fear that without significantly immersing their children in these groups, their roots were threatened by the distractions and dangers of integration with western culture. This leads many "to become subservient to their own inaccurate models of you know, interpretation of, Sikhism. And I think that that is where the violence is being done. So then the violence of kids at home, the neglect of girl children, perpetuates, and it continues" (K03).

Notably, key informants did not think household education levels or socioeconomic status influenced the persistence of certain traditional beliefs and ways of life among the younger generation. Some of them did, however, express a connection between how long individuals had resided in the U.S. combined with the extent to which they had personally involved themselves in life here, and attitudes towards traditional gender roles and son preference. This is illustrated by the following statement from an informant who works in a domestic violence agency serving the South Asian community:

Some of the behaviors, it does depend on how long they've been in the U.S. and how well they have wanted to assimilate, and how they have assimilated. So I think people who have been in the U.S. a little bit longer and have a stronger social structure whether that's friends and family or just kind of an investment, whether education or work or things like that, people who are a little bit more invested or have set down roots here you know are able to adapt a little bit better and have learned new ways of raising their children. But communities that stay isolated, which usually are new immigrants and first generation, they usually stay within their own cultural groups and just kind of reinforce the same gender stereotypes that they had within their family at home (K02).

### **Vignette Development**

Towards the end of each interview with key informants, respondents were asked about scenarios or types of situations they would recommend utilizing as vignettes for the in-depth interview guide used in phase two of the study, based on situations they had come across in their work. Scenarios that were raised in multiple key informant interviews were then utilized to create sample vignettes. All key informants were asked during their interviews if they would be willing to provide input on sample vignettes and in-depth interview instruments for phase two of the study once they were drafted and although most were, only two individuals ultimately provided feedback. Final vignettes

along with a sampling of probe questions that resulted from key informant interviews and follow-up can be found in table 4.1 below.

**Table 4.1:** Vignettes and Follow-up Questions Based on Key Informant Input

<b><i>Vignettes:</i></b>	
A.	Sometimes, mother-in-laws (dadi) give more food to their grandsons than to their granddaughters. When grandsons return from school or from playing with their friends, dadis always offer them sweets and tea, and allow them to sit down for meals first so by the time their granddaughter eats, there isn't enough food left. When her daughter-in-law tries to say something to object, the mother-in-law doesn't let her talk.
B.	Simranjeet is 12 years old. He slacks off at school and barely passes his classes while his older sister who is 15 years old studies very hard and does well. His parents never get upset at him but when his sister gets anything lower than an A grade, she is yelled at and called very bad names. Their father says that he will gladly pay for his son to go to college wherever he wants but if she wants to study, she needs to get scholarships to pay for all four years and she can't go far from home.
C.	Jaspreet lived with her parents and one older brother. Her father sometimes drank when he came home from work and then hit her mom and her, and also called them very bad words. Sometimes, Jaspreet's brother hit her too and her parents allowed this. She told a counselor at school and then was taken out of her home and sent to live with another Sikh family. Her parents found out who that family was and told them their daughter always misbehaved so her new family also started abusing her.
D.	Gurinder and Aman have two daughters and one son. Their older daughter is 20 years old and they are starting to think about her marriage. She lives at home, is a student at the local community college, and does well in her studies but many families of the prospective boys they meet ask why she needs to study, whether she can cook a proper meal and clean, and whether her parents will provide the dowry they are asking for. Her parents are thinking of pulling her out of her classes to focus on marriage prospects.
E.	Harleen and Manik live with their parents in Fremont. Both their parents work two jobs each to make ends meet and often come home very tired in the evenings. Sometimes Harleen and Manik can hear them fighting loudly late at night and even hear their mother get slapped. The morning after these arguments, their mother often yells at Harleen while she is getting ready for school, tells her how fat and ugly she is, and how no one will marry her. Sometimes, their mother even hits Harleen.
<b><i>Follow-up Questions/ Probes:</i></b>	
<p>Have you ever heard of this happening here?</p> <p>How common do you think this is among Punjabi Sikh families here?</p> <p>How do you feel about this? How do you think your parents/ sibling would feel about this?</p>	

## **Conclusion**

Taken together, the findings of interviews with key informants uncovered that emotional, verbal and physical forms of abuse towards women are of significant concern in the South Asian community overall. Based on the few interviews with key informants who identified as Punjabi Sikh and who specifically catered to this community, intimate partner and other forms of family violence are growing concerns and priorities in the community given increased discussion of violence against women among younger generations and awareness of recent serious occurrences through new family hotline services and local media. While all informants shared instances of maltreatment towards daughters they had either heard about or come across in their professional roles serving the community, all Punjabi Sikh informants had also encountered multiple instances personally amongst their family and friends.

Key points raised during key informant interviews included the discrepancy between Sikh religious values that stressed male and female equality and Punjabi culture that continued to regard women as second-class citizens and seemed to take precedence in both cultural and religious spheres, along with the divergence between younger and older generations in that older generations continued to stress traditional expectations of girls and young women to learn cooking and cleaning and focus on developing their soft-spoken, accepting demeanor in preparation for a future of focusing on home-making duties and family responsibilities. While key informants felt that many young women were rejecting these roles they perceived as subservient and unequal, others were socialized and silenced from a young age to accept the place of women in the home and family and to attune their ambitions accordingly. Moreover, key informants were not

especially confident that males of younger generations were less likely to embrace patriarchal structures and son preference ideology in their future family and community lives. Key informants also shared that women such as mother-in-laws and even non-relative female acquaintances in the community were just as much to blame for espousing patriarchal structures and son preference ideology as dominant males in the family and community, and that the habit of gossip among these women placed additional pressures on girls from a young age to adhere to expectations and ensure their family reputation was not tainted in the community because of their actions. These issues were explored further through in-depth interviews with sons, daughters, wives, and husbands, and findings are elaborated on in the following chapters.

## **Chapter 5: Results of In-Depth Interviews with Sons and Daughters** **(Phase Two- Aim Two)**

Sons and daughters were interviewed to explore the prevalence of attitudes and behaviors supportive of son preference in family dynamics and the ways in which these attitudes and behaviors were perceived or observed to influence the upbringing of both sons and daughters. Vignettes developed in collaboration with key informants were also utilized during interviews with sons and daughters to encourage sharing experiences and perspectives in a non-threatening manner, and often led to respondents elaborating on questions previously asked or experiences shared earlier in the interview. The vignettes discussed with most sons and daughters included the following four scenarios: a grandmother showing preference to her grandson over granddaughter, varying educational expectations for sons and daughters, focusing on marriage prospects for daughters at a young age, and fighting between parents that then led the mother to take her frustrations out on her daughter.

### **Description of Sample**

Participants for the in-depth interviews included fourteen daughters and eleven sons. Daughters ranged in age from 18 to 24 and sons from age 20 to 23 years of age (table 5.1). Most sons and daughters were born in the U.S. and had just one sibling, which for over half of the respondents was a sibling of the opposite sex. At least 70% of daughters had mothers and fathers who had completed at least a Bachelors degree, compared to around 50% of sons. Of note, nearly half of the daughters had mothers and fathers who had completed a graduate degree while few parents of the sons had done so. Mothers' employment roles included housewives (n= 7), teachers (n= 3), post office clerks (n= 3), small business owners with their husbands (n=2), receptionists (n= 2), a

**Table 5.1:** Characteristics of Sons and Daughters

	<i><b>Sons N=11</b></i>	<i><b>Daughters N=14</b></i>
<i><b>Age</b></i>		
18-20	2	9
21-24	9	5
<i><b>Number of Siblings</b></i>		
1	8	8
2	3	4
3	0	2
<i><b>Number with at least 1 opposite sex sibling</b></i>	7 (64%)	10 (71%)
<i><b>Number Born in the U.S.</b></i> (vs. immigrated here at a young age)	9	11
<i><b>Mother's Education</b></i>		
Less than High School	1	0
High School	4	1
Bachelors	4	6
Graduate/ Professional	2	7
<i><b>Number of Mothers Working Outside the Home</b></i>	7 (64%)	9* (69%)
<i><b>Father's Education</b></i>		
Less than High School	2	0
High School	4	4
Bachelors	4	4
Graduate/ Professional	1	6
<i><b>Number of Fathers Working Outside the Home</b></i>	10 (91%)	12* (92%)
<i>*13 total, 1 deceased</i>		

nurse , a real estate agent , and an assistant superintendent, while fathers' employment titles included truck drivers (n= 4), small business owners (n=4), engineers (n=3), realtors/ loan brokers (n=2), plant managers (n=3), a physician, a director of a software development company, a professor, a general contractor, a police officer, a shipping clerk, an account manager, and an electronic tech . Two daughters and one son were unable to identify their mothers' specific role at their place of employment and one daughter was unable to identify her father's role at his workplace.

Respondents varied in terms of how specifically they could identify their family place of origin. Some reported coming from Haryana (now a state in north India but



formerly part of Punjab) or provided names of specific districts (and occasionally exact villages) in Punjab, while others could not recall where specifically their ancestors hailed from in Punjab but knew their parents grew up in New Delhi. Familial districts of Punjab represented by respondents included Amritsar, Bhatinda, Chandigarh, Hoshiarpur, Jalandhar, Ludhiana, Mansa, Moga, Nawanshar, and Patiala. In Haryana, respondent's families were from Ambala or Panipat (Appendix I).

### ***Growing up in the U.S. as a Punjabi Sikh***

Specific aspects of being a Punjabi Sikh that were reported by both sons and daughters included having a vibrant and cultural lifestyle that enhanced their westernized upbringing and relatedly, a westernized upbringing that allowed them to practice their culture on their own terms; a large yet close-knit community network, and a set of values that grounded them and served as a moral compass as they navigated through various life experiences. One daughter expressed this as follows:

When I'm making decisions in my life whether it's professional or personal or social, really anything, having this set of values that have become so foundational in my life because my parents are Punjabi Sikh and because I've grown up as a Punjabi Sikh in America. Just having that set of values, that core values, and being able to rely on them to help guide me in whatever kind of decisions I have to make has been very important for me. Especially high school and beyond it's- I'm really grateful for that (D10).

Interestingly, some of the aspects of growing up as children of immigrants that were considered favorable and contributory to building their resilience and character were also sometimes perceived as challenges. This included the complexities of constantly balancing two cultures (that of mainstream western society and the Punjabi culture) and deciding which to identify with, pressure to succeed, the prevalence of gossip in the close-knit community, and a perceived excessive focus on education (for a certain period

of life) and family (for another period of life). Those sons that had retained the Sikh physical identity by wearing turbans and keeping beards in addition to those who had not but had male friends or family members who had, also expressed the difficulties associated with looking different and facing bullying and discrimination, especially in the post 9/11 era when they have been commonly stereotyped as terrorists. One male described this as follows:

It's been difficult after 9/11 obviously. I mean they just say, "Ok well he's got a *pugh* ('turban'), he's gotta be one of them." And then we're automatically put into a certain category... (M06).

### **Major Themes**

The major themes that arose during interviews with sons and daughters included the reasons and sociocultural roots of son preference; persistence of son preference; household and community gender roles and expectations; the forms of maltreatment experienced by daughters from family and community members; and the perceived multi-level impacts of son preference on sons and daughters. In this chapter, the similarities and differences between sons and daughters among these themes are described.

#### ***Son Preference: Fear for the Loss of Culture***

In almost every interview, the concept of "culture" was raised as the main reason why sons were valued more than daughters and that daughters were treated more unfavorably. Both sons and daughters felt that manifestations of son preference and differential treatment of sons and daughters was due to a concern about losing cultural traditions as a result of living in America and assimilating into mainstream society while being so far away from family members who never left India. One respondent described this as follows:

I think these beliefs continue here because there's more freedom here and so they, the parents might have this fear that *kuriyan bigar janiya* ("girls are going to get out of control"), like they're gonna- like if we keep them kind of not tied up but if we keep them on a little bit of a leash and if we give them just a little bit of leeway, that they will still be traditional and like stay to the values. It's kind of like you hear people say "oh *kuli chutti ditteai*" ("they're given a lot of freedom") like oh the girls have gone like all crazy and they're so quote unquote bad. Um so I guess they probably just don't want their daughters to go bad right? (D08).

While all respondents did not agree with the phenomenon of son preference or its associated manifestations through discriminatory behaviors, both males and females stressed that it was still strongly enmeshed in the cultural norms and social circumstances of Punjab that favored strict gender roles and expectations:

Because in India we don't have that many opportunities, especially in Punjab. Women can't go out there, they can't find jobs, they can't really be independent so they HAVE to rely on the men. So that same idea, even if you're here, here the dynamics are different meaning women can go out there and get their own work, they can be independent, but then because the way they're raised, the way they grew up, pretty much their whole life, if you're trying to change all of that, it doesn't change that fast. And mostly you see lot of the abuse, you see lot of the oppression, you know kind of like the patriarchal structure in the family... because they're exposed to that and they grew up in that kind of environment pretty much their whole life. And you know when you say people in India, if you take them out of India and you bring them here, their attitudes, their behaviors, how they look at things, it's still gonna be the same because they grew up like that. So I feel like that's the problem. THAT'S the problem. (M05).

Respondents cited the experiences and memories of their parents, aunts, uncles, and grandparents with traditional gender roles in their own family and community upbringing and felt these persisted in many families here because it was the only way parents knew how to raise their children, even though more opportunities were available to daughters in American society than Indian society.

Although more daughters than sons felt that the persistence of son preference was related to the length of time families had resided in the U.S. and "the longer that you've

been here in the country, maybe the more open-minded you are about things and then those who've just come from Punjab and India are a little more traditional” (D08), both sons and daughters equally expressed that the large, close-knit Punjabi Sikh community in Northern California and the effort to prioritize socialization of children within that community culture contributed to its endurance as a phenomenon in both subtle and more deliberate ways. Sons verbalized that while some families who had been settled in the U.S. for longer periods of time were more progressive in how they raised their sons and daughters, this was not always the case.

### ***Persistence of Son Preference in the U.S.***

Most respondents reported that while their own immediate families did not demonstrate any preferential attitudes or behavior and they themselves did not see any difference in the significance of a son versus daughter, they were aware of their parents’, extended families’, and/or community family friends’ perceptions of the significance of a son versus daughter. They uniformly expressed that the son was considered the pride of a family for continuing the family name, expanding the family, and providing care and support for parents in their old age. Daughters were important for maintaining a home and family and carrying on traditions, but it was believed that their missteps could damage the family’s reputation and daughters were ultimately going to leave their families to become part of their husband’s, thus making them a burden to raise.

Like *kuriyan* (“girls”) go to someone else's house, they leave their own house. So girls will always leave the house...they're part of the family but only for so long. But what a son is, is he's always a part of the family (D07).

Because um, if she does anything wrong, it reflects the whole family compared to if a son does anything wrong, it is just seen as a mistake. And plus, she gets married off so, whatever asset she was to the family, like

cooking, cleaning, she's going to provide that to whatever family she moves into... So she is eventually going to be leaving as opposed to the son that would bring another worker income, family member into the house (D17).

Interestingly, while nearly all sons and daughters similarly summarized this specific and highly regarded role of sons that was perceived in the culture of the community, most of them also acknowledged that the perception and reality were incongruent.

So the perception is one thing. That the son will take care of them and all that kind of stuff. But I also see the opposite happening, that that's not always the case. Like, it's so funny, my mom always says this too, you know, *sare kehndea munde changea* ("everyone says that boys are good") right? But like at the end it's always *kuriyan* ("girls") who are looking out for their parents. Not to say that sons don't care. But it's something that I've seen too myself. I feel like it's perceived to be one way, but it's actually the exact opposite (D08).

This respondent and many other daughters felt that in families that had both sons and daughters, they observed that daughters were the ones who actually took care, or better care, of their parents than sons, and daughters were the ones who juggled their career and family responsibilities to ensure children were raised with the proper cultural, religious, and social values that allowed for families to develop in the first place. While some sons also acknowledged this disconnect between the perception of the significance of a son and the reality, they only cited that daughters were the ones who took care of elderly parents more than sons and did not mention the woman's role in a family's upbringing as frequently as daughters did.

Despite all respondents protesting the phenomenon and cultural understanding of son preference, one son and one daughter interestingly also emphasized the pride they felt in carrying on the family name and importance they attached with this responsibility. The son ironically expressed this as a reason he would want at least one son while the

daughter expressed that although she had no specific preference for future sons or daughters, if she did have a son she would not give him the leniency that most sons receive in Punjabi families and would instead make sure he upheld a positive family reputation.

I feel like a son would be important. 'Cause... in the Punjabi culture, the girl is married off and then the boy stays with the parents. So the boy is the one who is kind of expected to carry the family name. And the daughter goes to another family. So I want to have someone who lives with me who carries on the family name (M10).

I feel like I've retained that traditional thought process that sons are the ones that keep the name. But that doesn't mean that they get away with everything. I would be more like "YOU'RE going to carry the name, YOU better be moral, YOU better know your values, YOU better know your limitations" (D09).

### ***Household and Community Gender Roles and Expectations***

Within their families, sons and daughters generally described three facets of gender roles and expectations among their parents. These included household responsibilities and chores, wage earning capacity, and decision-making.

#### **Household Responsibilities**

In regard to household chores, both sons and daughters expressed that the responsibility for cooking fell constantly on mothers and daughters. Sons and daughters shared that daughters were encouraged and/or required to learn to cook and maintain the home from a young age, while sons did not experience this same pressure. Nearly all sons felt that household chores such as cleaning, laundry, and grocery shopping were otherwise shared equally between their mothers and fathers while most daughters felt that their mothers were largely responsible for all chores and that their fathers expected it this way. A few sons shared that they and their fathers managed taking out the trash and

mowing the lawn. In contrast, a few daughters shared that their mothers were expected to take care of these household duties as well, often in addition to their full-time jobs.

My mom mows the lawn, um my mom takes care of us, my mom, it was always in my dad's opinion my mom's responsibility, even though she worked a full day, to teach us, look over our homework, if anything was going on at school, my mom was the first one that was blamed for not paying enough attention, cooking, cleaning, everything was the responsibility of my mom (D07).

Regarding their own household chores, most sons and daughters shared that their parents expected them to focus on their education and thus, they did not have regular household responsibilities. Among those sons and daughters who had opposite sex siblings, most did not feel there was any difference in expectations of helping around the house aside from the aforementioned emphasis on learning to cook for daughters.

#### Wage-Earning Capacity

Most sons shared that their fathers were the primary breadwinners in their own homes even if their mothers worked outside the home, and felt that in many Punjabi families, fathers were the only breadwinners as most women were expected to be housewives. While this was related to immigration status and the ability to work for some, others felt this was due to norms rooted in Punjab's way of life in which men were the businessmen and farmers while women were expected to stay home and take care of the home and children. One of these male respondents shared that he felt that among families that had recently immigrated to the U.S., dealing with a new language, new culture, and understanding how to network with others to find a job were perceived as significantly greater barriers for females than males, and this was why men continued to be the primary wage-earners in Punjabi families.

So normally I feel like males, they're the ones who kind of go out, work and make money. I feel like a lot of the women they're kinda scared to learn things and I feel like for them, there aren't that many opportunities out there in terms of like finding jobs and this kind of stuff because they don't have status, or they don't speak English, they don't drive, or they're really scared to drive, they're really scared to try out these things. So I feel like man is the one who kinda leaves the house and brings the money (M05).

Most daughters, in contrast, shared that their mothers and fathers were both employed outside of the home and that their mothers' jobs were an essential part of ensuring their household was financially stable. As table 5.1 demonstrates, similar percentages of mothers and fathers of both sons and daughters worked outside the home.

#### Decision-Making Authority

While most sons felt that decision-making on both major and minor decisions was shared equally by their parents, they acknowledged that they had friends and/or members of their extended family in whose households "the father makes all the decisions, mom has no say" (M17). Two daughters felt that financial and day-to-day decisions were openly discussed between both parents, but most daughters felt strongly that "that was all my dad, they're not discussed" (D07). The others felt that their fathers let their mothers know of major and minor decisions but only after their fathers had already made them rather than consulting with their mothers to gain their input before making an important decision. One respondent described this as follows: "He always discussed it with her but sometimes I felt like he discussed it with her without- like he kind of already knew what he was going to do but he would still just talk to her about it, even though he already knew. So I don't know if that really counts" (D05).



### Expectations of Sons and Daughters

All sons stressed the importance their families placed on doing well in school, becoming successful in their chosen field, and settling down, and felt this expectation was placed on them and their sisters or female cousins equally. A few sons, however, shared that expectations of daughters were different than those of sons in some of their friends' households.

... I have seen certain situations in areas and families who do have a specific emphasis on the woman being prepared to be a good wife as opposed to being educated and chasing her career dream or goal, whatever that is (M07).

Daughters uniformly perceived that girls were strongly socialized from a young age to shoulder a position submissive to males, to remember that their actions in their childhood home and in their future in-laws' home reflected on both family reputations, and to sacrifice their personal ambitions, desires, and preferences so they were married at a proper age and to meet the needs and demands of the family. They felt that sons, in contrast, were expected to assume positions of authority and to meet the needs of other family members, including their sister(s) until they were married and their parents in their old age. These perceptions are illustrated in the following statements:

Hm I guess it's ultimately getting married and being a good mother. (Laughs). They're very like - they're all about like, everything that they say, anything, if you ask a certain way, they're like, "What are your in-laws going to think?" They wouldn't say that to any of my guy cousins. But that's like the first thing- if they were to act out they wouldn't say what are your in-laws going to think, they're just thinking, "Oh this is a part of them and they're allowed to act that way," whereas if it were a girl that's the first thing they would say: "What are other people going to think" (D05)?

As a woman, to cook and clean and get an education and get married and have kids. Like your life, your life is not considered complete unless you're married and have kids by a certain age (D17).

Of note, one daughter acknowledged that while she felt the gender roles and power dynamics were unequal in her home and those of most of her Punjabi Sikh friends, the image of masculinity in the community came with certain expectations of men and did not allow for them to engage in duties that were considered to belong to women without reflecting undesirably on the family reputation:

...women have the stress of I need to learn how to cook and clean and be proper, be innocent, or things like that. But for the men, they have this pressure of taking care of the family, making sure their sisters don't get into trouble, um, making sure their sisters are paid to go to school, their sister's weddings are paid for, that they are working, because it is unacceptable for a guy to be a housewife/househusband (D17).

For nearly all daughters, their explanation of gender norms and expectations suggested that although both sons and daughters had roles imposed on them, the expectations of daughters were demeaning and restrictive while those of sons afforded them independence and authority.

Interestingly, a couple sons and most daughters raised instances of intimate partner violence towards women that they witnessed or knew of while sharing their perceptions of household and community gender roles. These examples encompassed physical and emotional abuse and control that led to women existing in an atmosphere of fear and anxiety along with demeaning restrictions and resulted in women lacking emotional availability for parenting or taking their tension out on their children, reducing their level of economic independence, and affecting their physical and psychological well-being. Some of the cases shared included accusations of infidelity, physical abuse, verbal abuse, and control. Some of the instances shared by respondents were as follows:

My mom, she has a Ph.D., but he never let her pursue, like she's just a teacher, but she could do a lot more obviously but like, so he tried to cut

her off from family and friends earlier on in their marriage. And it wasn't until me and my brother got a little older that she could like talk to us (D20).

...I feel like the way in our culture, or the way we're raised, or the way our traditions are, I feel like men always have the power. They have the power to make the big decisions and that eventually got carried over to when we moved here and I feel like here, the dynamics are SO much different from India... but they're still doing it and when the wives don't listen to them sometimes they're abused, sometimes they get hit, sometimes they get slapped (M05).

Amidst sharing their views on household gender roles and expectations, many daughters also acknowledged a blurred distinction between cultural and religious understandings of women's roles. They discussed that in Sikh holy texts, women and men are regarded as equals and women are exalted for the many roles they play in the family and community sphere. However in day-to-day life, respondents referenced examples of how women are still not allowed to sing hymns or encouraged to participate in certain important congregation duties at the Golden Temple and even in *gurdwaras* in the U.S., are often relegated to kitchen duties in *gurdwaras*, and not welcomed to participate in *gurdwara* management and leadership.

When I think about who is it that provides kind of all of the important services, like just looking at like who does *kirtan* ("singing hymns") and who does the *katha* ("explanation of hymns") and who is the one doing *chaur* ("fanning of the Holy Scriptures") at the *gurdwara*, these are all men who-they're people of stature and everyone in the community sees them and what they're seeing is that men have in a lot of ways dominated these roles. And I think that often leaves out the women's voice besides the fact that in Sikhism, women's voice is in a lot of ways elevated. I do think that there is a HUGE disconnect between Sikhism and how our communities are playing out here in America (D10).

Daughters felt that given the central role *gurdwaras* held in the lives of all Punjabi Sikhs, these examples of male preference and dominance in that environment only influenced

and reinforced family dynamics that relegated women to household and family duties and men to positions of power and authority.

### ***Forms of Maltreatment towards Daughters***

The primary ways in which sons observed differential treatment towards their sisters, cousins, or other young female acquaintances in the community included greater control and social restrictions placed on daughters and not allowing daughters to pursue higher education and careers to the level they desired, if at all. In addition to these forms of differential treatment, daughters described increased emphasis on certain household chores and responsibilities in preparation for marriage and family life, restrained ability to pursue not only the career or level but also quality of education they desired, and instances of physical abuse, and behavioral and emotional control and guilt. Of note, most examples of differential treatment were said not to be based on personal experience but rather on extended family members or friends and acquaintances within the community.

Although sons expressed that girls and young women were more vulnerable and more likely to be victims of men when outside the home on their own, they did not see this as a fair reason to restrict their freedom and also found it concerning that girls faced with this restriction would not learn to live independently and fend for themselves- skills they felt were important to possess in this society.

She can cook, she can clean, she can do all these household chores but when it comes to living by herself, she really can't. She's very very dependent on her parents and I feel like that's a consequence of being so incredibly sheltered. I've talked to her a lot about that and she needs to learn to be independent and be stronger but just the way, just like how incredibly sheltered her life was, that's what happened and personally, I want to change that because I don't want her to be like that for the rest of her life (M04).

Most daughters elaborated on instances of restrained freedom to socialize with their friends and even their cousins by describing earlier curfews and increased monitoring and control compared to the males in their family. This is illustrated in the following statements:

...there were certain things that came up that I didn't understand. Um like "hey can I go to this sleepover, like two doors down?" And they'd be like "no." And then my brother would say, "Hey can I go to that sleepover across town?" And my parents would say yes, so that was frustrating and I think at times, I would react in very...negative ways to that... The girls kind of always have to ask permission and be like "Hey we're going here" and the immediate question is "Hey when are you going to be back? Two hours, three hours?" They need a set time versus the guys come back late and it's like eh "Oh they're just whatever." But the girls it's like "where are you?" and you get a call right on the dot. There's a leniency with guys in some ways (D06).

....one of my friends isn't allowed to go anywhere but her brother is allowed to go wherever he wants. And he has done so much, he's gotten speeding tickets and crashed a car and he's just done so many bad things and she is really good and she isn't allowed to do a lot of that (D15).

While a few daughters felt that their parents' control was justified out of care and concern, most felt it was a significant double standard that was not warranted or reasonable.

Most sons and daughters reported that while they felt daughters had no educational disadvantages prior to college, there were differences in opportunities afforded to them upon reaching college both because they felt families wanted daughters to get married and settle down into homemaking duties before becoming too independent and also because they did not want prospective groom's families to be intimidated by their daughter's level of education and the disobedient thought it was perceived to engender against traditional, female subservient norms. One son explained this as: "I

would say there are still families that wouldn't want a girl to be more educated than their son if she was going to marry into the family. I have heard that a couple of times, even in my family, as far as when they were looking for girls...there's that intimidation factor" (M11). All daughters additionally elaborated that while doing well in school and being educated were emphasized as important priorities in all their households, many expressed that both they and their female friends in the Punjabi Sikh community felt that they had to do perform better in school than their brothers to justify their chance to pursue higher education at the institution they desired if it was pricey or far from home, or to pursue higher education at all. If they were granted the opportunity to attend college, many described sudden pressure to lessen their educational aspirations so as not to delay marriage and so they were not distracted from the role of women belonging in the home, and knew friends and acquaintances who were pulled out of college before graduating to focus on marriage-worthy qualities and marriage prospects. Three respondents described this as follows:

After I got into college, all topics turned away from education and developing your career into trying to get you married, which pressure has not been the same for my brother (D06).

I've heard stories where parents are only willing to dish out more money for sending a daughter to school if she does really well...My dad also...discounted me not to go into premed just because I'd be too old by the time I got out, to be married, and all that stuff was put into consideration [when I chose my major] (D07).

I have a friend for instance who is in graduate school right now and she got this talk from her mother, or grandmother actually, about how like she shouldn't be going to school still. But her brother certainly didn't get that talk (D10).

As mentioned earlier, many daughters felt they were encouraged to learn cooking more so than their male family members. While respondents felt they were not expected

to do more chores than their brothers in their own families, many had female friends who were responsible for the brunt of the household duties. As one respondent described, "...he's treated as a prince and then the daughters are left to do everything else. So kind of like the son not having any responsibility at all but then giving all the responsibilities and the chores and all that to the daughters" (D08).

Most daughters also shared cases of physical abuse they heard about through extended family or their family friend network. No respondent reported personal experiences with physical abuse, aside from what they described as minor corporal punishment by their parents when they were children and was inflicted equally on them and their brother(s). Sons expressed that there was no physical abuse towards any children, male or female, in their own homes aside from what they described as negligible disciplinary action when they were younger, and stated that they did not know of any cases of physical abuse towards daughters in the community. All the instances of physical abuse shared by daughters related to parental disappointment about interacting with males, as illustrated in the following statement:

I know of instances where daughters were targeted and were abused and were kind of locked in their rooms and not allowed to leave the home because you know they did something that their parents weren't happy with. They were talking with a boy or like went out with a boy one night for dinner or this or that and their parents didn't like it and so they would be locked in their room. They would get beaten, physically abused, emotionally abused, yeah (D10).

More frequently than physical abuse, many respondents disclosed feeling that their actions and thoughts were controlled by family members in ways that led to feelings of overwhelming responsibility for the family reputation and constant guilt.

And also you know, this idea that women and their sexuality in a lot of ways it- it should be I guess prized above anything else. Like this idea that

the purity is prized above everything else and I think women tend to get that talk more so than men do in our community. And from having conversations with a lot of young women it seems to be the case, this idea that women should remain pure and should they deviate from that it becomes a taint not just on them but on the whole family. That's something they want to avoid at ALL costs (D10).

Of note, one respondent described that when she was born in India, her paternal grandmother only allowed her mother to breastfeed her twin brother, in fear that if she was also breastfed, there would not be enough for her brother. However this experience was not echoed by any other respondents.

### ***Impact of Son Preference***

Nearly all sons and daughters spoke avidly about the consequences of a culture of patriarchy and son preference for both males and females. These consequences spanned individual, partner, family, and community- level impacts with potentially long-term repercussions.

At the individual level, all female respondents described potential psychological morbidities in the form of feelings of anger, unhappiness, depression, and rebellion, and negative effects on the self-esteem of daughters as a result of attitudes and behaviors in favor of son preference. Most sons similarly conveyed that daughters who experienced differential treatment in their homes either rebelled or were silenced into accepting their inferior position for the rest of their lifetime, but did not discuss these repercussions in as much detail or with as much concern as daughters. These sentiments are illustrated in the following statements:

“And then the girls, they have to rebel at some point, a lot of them, to kind of speak their mind or be themselves quote unquote and they just rebel to get their freedom and do what they want. [If they can’t rebel] then they kind of just get close-minded. Because they're so used to being told what



to think and what to do and how to do...so they just kinda don't have their own say" (M06).

...there's stuff on a subconscious level that has affected me...it's that subconscious feeling that I am lesser than (D06).

... they say that oh the girl should be more soft-spoken, she should not be talking back, she should not have a loud voice, you know she should be more submissive, all those things. If something goes wrong, they think it's their fault...if there's abuse even within a marriage, girls are afraid to speak up because they feel like that's what they're made for, they have to endure it, they're being a bad you know whatever, bad Sikh, bad Punjabi, bad daughter, bad wife, blah blah blah if they speak up against it (D09).

Moreover, daughters elaborated that the repercussions on daughters of attitudes and behaviors in favor of son preference also negatively influenced their education and career prospects in that they often were not able or motivated to pursue their ambitions given the lack of support at home, the knowledge that their parents felt it was more important to spend their hard-earned money on the lavish wedding expected by their future son-in-law's family and the community than on their daughter's education, the focus on women eventually sacrificing their passions for their marriage and family, and the doubt instilled in their minds after years of hearing that their input was not warranted or valued.

...I'm not really motivated to do good in school knowing that I cannot get that far physically- like moving away and having that college experience or just satisfaction of knowing that my parents, they want this for me or something. It's...like they don't trust me to move away or they don't think I can't handle it or maybe they don't want me being that independent where I can move away and be comfortable living by myself and not have that urge to get married (D17).

I've heard this happening because a lot of families don't have money to pay for their daughter's education even though they are going to spend that money on her wedding. But... I think it is terrible because if that guy ever does leave her, she has nothing to stand on her own two feet with. And that kind of goes with the Indian mentality that it is okay for her to stay and home and cook and clean. And not have a career... (D17).

A few daughters expressed that witnessing friends and extended family members endure unequal treatment or gender-based violence but having more progressive parents themselves motivated them to work harder so their opportunity was not taken for granted.

One daughter explained this as follows:

I don't know, I feel grateful because...my family isn't like that and they understand that...I feel like because they have been here so long, they realize that there's no, there, there shouldn't be a difference and they kind of treat us equally. I don't know, it makes me, it makes me want to actually try and do something and become successful because I'm not oppressed. Yea (D15).

Ironically, some respondents also shared that the reason often given to justify son preference (i.e. that daughters will one day marry, leave their natal home, and become part of another family) and explanation for limiting the freedom and socialization of daughters (i.e. to ensure they uphold family honor and are marriageable in the eyes of the community) is what seemingly leads many daughters to avoid visiting their home and family (if they have the opportunity to study away from home) even before their marriage and in some cases, results in daughters being ok with giving up their education and career aspirations for marriage at an earlier age because they mistakenly think they will have more freedom in their husband's home.

The main impact emphasized for males as a result of attitudes and behaviors in favor of son preference in the family and community by both sons and daughters that touched on individual, family and community-level repercussions was a sense of dominance and self-importance. One son described that observing attitudes of son preference had given some of his friends "a sense of entitlement in some cases. They feel that they should run the house because their father ran the house. Just based off of what

I've seen from other people, some men and boys treat the other gender [as] simply trash, which is not right, in my opinion. They should be a little more fair" (M17).

At the family and partner levels, both male and female respondents felt that son preference in households shaped relationship dynamics, ideals, and expectations of parenthood and intimate partner relationships. Both sons and daughters described resentment and anger that many their age felt towards their fathers based on how their fathers treated their mothers and/or for daughters, how their fathers treated them. In these cases, sons and daughters felt that either mothers were not given an equal say in household matters, were unduly restricted in their daily lives, or were verbally or physically abused by fathers or members of the father's family under the father's watch. Sons and daughters felt that resentment towards fathers from daughters was fueled by unfair treatment and restrictions, and verbal and physical abuse at the hand of fathers. While more daughters than sons acknowledged that there was also a role of female relatives and non-relatives in imposing restrictions and abuse on daughters in the community, daughters felt that fathers faced more resentment from daughters than mothers because daughters witnessed their mothers being treated similarly by such fathers and having little control to overcome such demeaning and sometimes frightening dominance. With regard to intimate partner relationships, both sons and daughters felt that experiencing patriarchal family structures and son preference ideology during childhood led sons to feel a sense of entitlement and power over women that they were then more likely to mirror with their future wives and daughters. Male and female respondents shared that daughters, in contrast, were programmed from a young age to

accept their secondary place in their spousal relationship and fit the mold that is expected by their families and communities. One respondent expressed this as follows:

I think women grow up- they're socialized growing up feeling like they have to fit a certain role and to deviate from that is, is just wrong, like they can't deviate from that. And if they choose to or they want to, they'll be outcast. They won't be accepted by the family or the community. I think for men what this means is the men grow up feeling in a lot of ways entitled in ways that they're not. And empowered in a lot of ways to treat women and to see women as something, as a thing or not so much human, as something less (D10).

While some sons and daughters felt the repercussions were negative in that the culture of son preference persisted because it was witnessed and experienced in the households of sons and daughters today, others felt that these experiences provided insights and lessons for the younger generation to realize that they wanted very different, more equal, and more nurturing relationships with their future children and spouses than their parents, aunts, uncles and grandparents demonstrated during their upbringing.

## **Conclusion**

Interviews with the sons and daughters were conducted primarily to compare perspectives and experiences about son preference and daughter neglect within the Punjabi community of northern California. From the data, it was most interesting to observe when sons and daughters held similar perspectives, and when they differed. Most sons and daughters expressed that sons were favored in their families and that some sort of differential treatment existed, but sons did not perceive it to be a significant issue or one that impacted females as substantially as females perceived. Both sons and daughters had difficulty pinpointing exactly how son preference ideology existed in their families but both articulated that a climate of favoring male children through a combination of actions, words, and mannerisms certainly existed and persisted in their

families and local community. Daughters discussed manifestations and psychological effects of this differential treatment along with consequences for family dynamics at greater length, in more detail, and with noticeably greater fervor than sons.

In examining family dynamics, daughters were more likely to report an imbalance in household decision-making and control between their mothers and fathers that weighed towards male dominance and decision-making authority, while sons were more likely to perceive complete equality between their mothers and fathers. Sons and daughters both reported patriarchal tendencies in *gurdwara* leadership that were overdue for change.

Nine daughters and six sons were asked to comment on at least one vignette. The remaining five daughters and five sons did not participate in vignettes because their interviews had already run over in time. Overall, sons and daughters who remarked on vignettes acknowledged the scenarios as forms of emotional or physical abuse and expressed that while they had heard of many of these situations or variations of them in the community, they did not occur in their immediate families and their own families would not condone such behavior. The scenarios that respondents were most familiar with included those related to varying educational opportunities for daughters versus sons, fighting among parents in which husbands physically and verbally abused wives and then wives took their frustrations out on their children, and daughters being removed from school or not allowed to pursue educational and career opportunities in order to focus on marriage. Daughters elaborated in greater detail than sons upon hearing the vignettes and were also more likely than sons to acknowledge that although they had heard of such scenarios in the community, that people tended to be very secretive about

such family matters and there were likely many additional instances that were never known outside the home in which they occurred. Some sons initially expressed shock upon hearing the vignettes but once they thought about the situation, realized they had heard of similar if not exact experiences. Both sons and daughters related their thoughts on the scenarios to previous interview questions and responses and thus, their perspectives are incorporated into the key themes shared earlier in this chapter.

Overall, conversations with sons and daughters highlighted the role of Punjabi culture and sociopolitical experiences in fostering early socialization patterns that support son preference and reinforce patriarchy across the lifespan. No significant differences were perceived in perceptions of son preference by caste, or birth order and sex composition of siblings. The one factor that related to son preference ideology and/or whether those ideologies were put into practice in respondent's families was the length of time their parents had resided in the U.S. and how invested they had become in the way of life here, especially outside of the Punjabi Sikh community. Sons and daughters whose own parents had moved here prior to marriage perceived little to no son preference ideology in their own homes but could compare their parents' attitudes to aunts and uncles who relocated to the U.S. more recently and who clearly discriminated against their daughters compared to sons. That said, there were some respondents whose families had not been here very long and did not exhibit severe son preference ideologies or discriminatory practices but most respondents who fell into this group reported an environment of patriarchy and male favoritism that led to daughters being forced to either silently accept and endure these forces as they grew from girls to young women to wives and mothers, to rebel against their culture and families, and/or to be detrimentally

impacted in the form of mental health issues/ psychological morbidities. Both sons and daughters mostly agreed that the effect on sons of growing up around these dynamics was a sense of entitlement and in many cases, an unfortunate likelihood of patriarchal ideologies continuing in their lives. Respondents were divided on whether the younger generation of males were gravitating away from gender norms and beliefs about male dominance or grasping tightly to what was modeled in their patriarchal homes and communities.

## **Chapter 6: Results of In-Depth Interviews with Husbands and Wives** **(Phase Two- Aim Three)**

Men and women who occupied the roles of husbands and wives in their families were interviewed to examine perspectives of son preference and the treatment of daughters. Vignettes developed in collaboration with key informants were also utilized during some interviews with husbands and wives, if time allowed, to encourage sharing experiences and perspectives in a non-threatening manner. Two wives and one husband were asked to comment on the vignettes about mother-in-laws controlling their grandson and granddaughter's food, about differences in the educational expectations of sons and daughters, and focusing daughters on marriage prospects while in college. These vignettes led respondents to revisit prior questions or provide more detail on personal experiences that arose previously in the interview.

### **Description of Sample**

Participants for this aim of the study included six wives and two husbands. The wives ranged in age from 29 to 59 years of age while the husbands were 47 and 52 years of age (table 6.1). Half of the wives moved to the U.S. between the ages of 10 and 15 while the remaining relocated at older ages after marriage. Both husbands relocated to the U.S. at over 30 years of age. Four wives and one husband were married between the age of 18 and 25 years, while the others were married by age 30 years. Three wives and one husband had two children and three wives and one husband had three children. All but two respondents (1 wife, 1 husband) had at least one daughter and one son. Five of the six wives had completed graduate level education and the sixth had completed college, while the husbands had attained high school and college level education. The wives of the two male respondents had completed the same level of education as their



husbands, while the husbands of female respondents had completed either the same level of education as their wives (n=4) or less (n=2). Respondents' employment titles included convenience store manager (n=1 husband), insurance broker (n=1 husband), civil

**Table 6.1:** Characteristics of Husbands and Wives

	<i>Husbands N=2</i>	<i>Wives N= 6</i>
<b><i>Age (years)</i></b>		
21-30	0	1
31-40	0	1
41-50	1	2
50+	1	2
<b><i>Age Moved to U.S. (years)</i></b>		
10-15	0	3
16-20	0	1
21-30	0	1
30+	2	1
<b><i>Age at Time of Marriage (years)</i></b>		
18-25	1	4
26-30	1	2
30+	0	0
<b><i>Highest Level of Education Completed</i></b>		
High School	1	0
Bachelors	1	1
Graduate/ Professional	0	5
<b><i>Number of Children</i></b>		
2	1	3
3	1	3

engineer (n=1 wife), physician (n=1 wife), teacher (n=2 wives), small business owner (n=1 wife), and general assembly line laborer (n=1 wife).

Respondents identified their family place of origin as Haryana or specific districts (and occasionally exact villages) in Punjab. Familial districts of Punjab represented by respondents included Amritsar, Bhatinda, Chandigarh, Hoshiarpur, Jalandhar, Ludhiana, Mansa, Moga, Nawanshar, and Patiala. In Haryana, respondent's families originated from Ambala or Panipat (Appendix I).

### ***Reasons for Immigrating to US***

All of the husband and wife respondents relocated to the U.S. to seek refuge from the turmoil of post-1984 attacks on Sikhs in India or to avail themselves of living under a less corrupt government, and better educational and employment opportunities. Two wives described this as follows:

My husband was targeted by the government there. He was arrested many times for no reason. It was in the aftermath of 1984. That's why he decided to get out of the country. He did not feel safe, even though I never wanted to come. It was a very difficult time for us. I never, in the wildest of dreams, thought I would come to the United States, or any other country other than India (W06).

...my dad wanted to move here because he was very dissatisfied in India...living in India and working in India. He felt he couldn't, you know, grow as a professional. And too much corruption at every level in companies (W01).

Wives that moved to the U.S. after their marriage because their husbands had jobs here expressed a challenging period of time adapting to the new way of life. One respondent described this as follows: "In the beginning, it was very hard to make the adjustment....I don't have any family in the United States. Emotionally it was very...very scary, just being by myself and married to a man I never knew before (W07)." The other female respondents expressed similar sentiments and all women found the more liberal attitudes and freedoms in the U.S. refreshing once they adjusted and established their careers. Husbands, in contrast, did not share difficulties with adjusting to life in the U.S. but instead, elaborated on how grateful they were to have relocated here.

### **Major Themes**

Significant themes that arose during the interviews with husbands and wives included household decision-making, control, and gender roles; the significance of sons

versus daughters; and the forms of differential treatment towards daughters from family and community members. In this chapter, the similarities and differences between husbands and wives among these themes are described.

### ***Household Decision-Making, Control, and Gender Roles***

While three wives expressed equality between them and their husbands in making both big and small decisions in the household, the others shared that this was not the case, primarily in the beginning of their marriage. Two respondents described this as follows:

Yeah, 20 years it was really hard. Because...the big things would always be my husband because he was earning money, so he gets to decide. So if I ever bought something big, on my own, like all hell would break loose. So it was kind of hard. I would always have to run it by him, and his answer would usually be no. So if sometimes, I would just go buy something myself, and there would just be like, you know when the statement, when the bill comes every month, there'll be a fight that day... So every month there would be a fight (W01).

...my husband made all the decisions. Sometimes he never even consulted with me. Even if I tried to give some ideas or suggestions, it was not followed through (W07).

Of note, these women did not work for the first 12 to 20 years of their marriage while they focused on raising their children and managing household responsibilities. They described that after they began working and as their children grew up, their level of control in household decision-making increased substantially, as did their urge to defend their children when necessary and insist on their own point of view. However, this continued to lead to arguments and significant marital discord for these women, as illustrated in the following statement by one respondent:

I felt, in most of my married life, I've felt (pauses) if I feel strongly about something I really had to fight for it. I think a lot of our arguments will happen when I will strongly feel about something and I'd make sure I wanted it to happen. Because I think my husband always felt that he should be the last one to make the decisions.... on everything. And small small

things add up and even bigger issues, I made myself heard on things and that was never a pleasant experience. (W07).

Moreover, these women felt that even after they began working, they were still responsible for most, if not all, household duties.

I used to take care of the whole household: cooking, cleaning, entertaining, educating kids, working with them for homework, going to their schools, getting involved in their schools, um feeding them, taking them to games, all extracurricular activities, and working as a full-time mom. I was working full-time and my husband didn't help me too much with household chores. Even when I asked him a couple of times, when I was working, for help, I would hear, "Well I didn't tell you to work" (W07).

[Husband] doesn't do anything. [Husband] doesn't play a part as a parent, just so you know. I'm the only parent. I do EVERYTHING. It's like unreal. I feel like sometimes I'm a single parent. I say that a lot actually. I feel like I'm a single parent (W01).

Given the experiences these women endured (and some expressed that they continue to endure) throughout their married lives, they shared that they seek to instill values of sharing household responsibilities and equality to their sons. However, another respondent shared that despite her efforts to involve her sons in household chores, she faced resistance from her husband who felt it was "a woman's job":

...even a few times when I tried when they were young, they were toddlers, like say 7 or 8, young children maybe in second third grade or something, I would tell them to empty the dishwasher and then one day I can never forget that [husband] was in the kitchen and [husband] told them in front of me that "why are you making them do a woman's job?" He actually told my kids that when they were helping me in the kitchen...then my mother-in-law never corrected that. She heard it. But she totally- it's like she didn't hear it. He just- he felt it's my job because I don't work, I'm the homemaker, and it's my job. Not that I resented it. It's just very interesting. Sometimes, if I was sick, even I had to do it because he wouldn't help me. That's when it was very bothersome (W01).

In contrast, both husbands felt that they and their wives made household decisions together and that this had been the case from the beginning of their marriages. When it

came to household responsibilities, husbands stated that they were evenly shared but when describing specific duties, one husband (whose wife did not work outside the home) felt his wife's role encompassed "kids' laundry, ironing, making sure they are fed what they like to eat" (H06) while his role was primarily to be the family wage earner.

Both male and female respondents expressed that they did not expect any chores to be done by their children, as they were encouraged to focus on their education. However, the one male respondent with a daughter shared that she "stands with her mom in the kitchen and helps her mom sometimes. She'll make *chai*, wash dishes. In the future, we hope she doesn't have to hear it from someone so her mom wants her to perfect certain chores" (H06). This implied that when his daughter is one day married, none of her in-laws can say she did not properly learn basic household tasks.

Of note, both male and female respondents shared that husbands called wives by their first name or a family nickname or no name at all, while wives referred to husbands more officially as *tusi*, the formal version of "you" in Punjabi, or *sardarji*, a formal way of referring to a Sikh man. Wives shared that that rarely called their husbands by their first names or family nicknames. Most husbands and wives did not elaborate on this issue but one wife felt it was especially insulting when she used nicknames or family pet names for her husband but he got her attention either by looking in her direction, standing in front of her, or calling her by her full first name. She expressed that she felt more closeness and better communication would be fostered in her relationship with her husband if they both used an insider language rather than the formality felt when he referred to her by her first name or worse, disrespected her by referring to her by no name at all.

### ***Son Preference and Significance of Sons and Daughters***

While one wife and both husbands perceived no son preference in their experience growing up in India or in raising their families here, all other female respondents shared personal experiences with son preference in their own families or upon marriage in interactions with their in-laws.

For me, I never saw it any different. For family, yes, when my son was born, he was the first grandson to be born in the family. On my husband's side. So, for them, it was a BIG deal. I don't know why...why it was a big deal. They showed emotions when he was born... more than when my daughter was born. The kind of emotions they showed, some of the comments they made... I specifically remember that my husband's uncle, when he found out that my first child is a daughter, he said... something that I found was very demeaning. I was very upset. And my in-laws, my husband's parents never directly made any remark, but I always felt they gave more importance to boys and sons. And I never grew up with this kind of distinction (W07).

Wives expressed that sons were important in their extended families for carrying the family name forward, taking care of parents in their old age, and for avoiding the stress of dowries that were associated with having daughters.

...in my family a son, a son is worth something... The daughters are given away so they cost the family, they never bring back wealth to the family whereas a son contributes to the income of a family, stays with the family, and takes care of the parents. So a son is an asset and a daughter is just an expense...they go away and live with their husband's family and you have to pay for their education and you know, raising them and all that cost (W03).

Although both husbands and wives acknowledged such attitudes among some members of their extended family, they felt that neither they nor their spouses perceived a difference between sons and daughters. Both husbands also alluded to religious teachings that ascribe equality for women when discussing that they viewed no difference in the significance of sons versus daughters. Husbands additionally mentioned that their

sisters were respected and treated the same as they were in their homes while growing up in north India and that they felt the same way raising their family in the U.S. One husband described his views as follows:

Between a daughter and a son, I don't see any differences. I say that in today's world, a daughter is as worthy as a son, because both study at the same level, have jobs of equal positions...there's no...I don't think there are any differences. Good parents in this generation...it is true the elderly in earlier days used to differentiate. They used to differentiate between daughter and son, but in today's world, both have rights. Daughter studies as much as the son. She respects family members just as much and helps out around the house just as much. In every way, she does that...she does every kind of job. I don't consider there to be any differences (H05).

Among wives that had daughters (n=5), all expressed gratification in the experience of raising them and in knowing that the way their daughters were raised was important for carrying values and beliefs on to future generations, described by one respondent as follows:

...um for me, I think being a daughter, I'm also somebody's daughter you know? I'm proud of my daughter. And also, they take your culture to next family. I think whatever I raised her, she's going to take that to other side family. Hopefully she will merge into them and also take my culture with them- then make them proud (W05).

Moreover, wives did not see legitimate reasons for son preference to persist, especially in the U.S. where dowries are no longer customary and they did not plan to live with either their sons or daughters in their old age:

See, the thing is, in my eyes there's no difference right because there's no way my sons are going to live with me. Like, I wouldn't even want that. I want them out. They have to have their own house. Stay away from me, you know. Like after you get married, you're on your own. You have to respect that. And so what's the difference? The girl also is going to be on her own. Why would she want to live with me? And you know you cannot count on your kids. Like I'm not waiting that my kids are going to take care of me. I have to take care of myself. I want them to have a great life but I want them to equally- I always tell each of them regardless, doesn't

matter who [elder son, younger son, or daughter], they're all the same, they each have to make a really good life for themselves on their own... (W01).

### ***Differential Treatment***

Wives expressed that they felt son preference stemmed from patriarchal beliefs in the culture of males being dominant both within the family and in the community arena, and that these patriarchal beliefs led daughters to be treated differently from sons throughout their lives. Within their families, women shared that their in-laws often expected them not to be educated and not to work because their place was considered to be in the home and it was perceived that education would lead women not to listen to men. One respondent described this as follows:

So we never kind of thought that way, but then when I got married... my father-in-law was totally different. He is unfortunately a leader in the Sikh community, but his viewpoint...it might have changed now, but at the time, VERY difficult. My husband- he had two younger sisters and my father-in-law was so AGAINST to send them to the college, and yeah, he asked me if I can just quit my job. I was teaching, and then stay home. I said "What I will be doing at home?" (*laughs*) So it was a whole kind of different- but I was SO thankful that my husband... was progressive! That's why he was kind of, you know not listening to his father and sending his sisters to college, even though his father would always say that "It was not right for you to send them to college. Now they don't heed me. They don't do this, they don't do that" (W06).

Another respondent, a high school teacher by profession, shared a similar sentiment about daughters' educational attainment in her experience interacting with students and their families: "Being a teacher, I've heard stories from Punjabi female students where parents don't want to send their girls [away for higher education], or if they want to send them, they don't want to send them too far. And they have brothers who are NOT working as hard as they are, but no one says anything to them" (W07).



An example of patriarchy in the community shared by nearly all female respondents was the leadership of local *gurdwara* committees. One respondent expressed the hypocrisy of male leadership who do not welcome women to get involved but then requested women's votes to get elected and to ensure their initiatives passed:

Why do we need to vote for you when you don't consider the women? All the presidents are old men. They never ask women "Oh we should do this, or not." When they want to make a decision, they give the paper out and say "Oh ladies, sign if you want the *gurdwara* to be painted." Why do they need women to sign at that time (W05)?

This sentiment was especially emphasized by another respondent who herself ran for a position on the local *gurdwara* committee but upon being elected, was only used as a "flower girl" (W06) without acknowledgment of her suggestions, initiatives, and efforts over the years. She was additionally told even by other women in the community that "'women should not run for elections'" (W06).

Finally, wives described the unfairness of purity and honor being emphasized for daughters. One respondent who had been married and divorced prior to her current marriage described how she was believed to have ruined her family's and especially her father's honor after divorcing her verbally and emotionally abusive husband:

I had married into a much more rich family than my family, and he was a doctor and I'm a doctor and we're the first doctors of our community really. And so, it was all perfect. Then with me getting a divorce, my mom said that that was like shooting my dad in the head with a bullet. And that's when she said that the daughter is the *izzat* ("honor") of the dad, so the daughter has the dad's status, his core lies within the daughter. And I totally ruined that (W03).

Another respondent acknowledged this as well and described how the conversation has to change to involve sons and acknowledge their actions:

I don't have a daughter, but I have seen family expects them... the honor thing. They expect them to have more caution in their interactions and all

that stuff, but I think it's not only parents. I think as a society we need to change that even if...think about our young men. If the daughter has some boyfriend or whatever, and then when she gets married to some man, and the man says "You're not a virgin anymore." So this is between the young man and the young woman, more than parents, I believe. They [parents] need to understand that it's okay in the American society (W06).

In contrast to female respondents, both husbands felt that overall, equality between males and females and the upbringing of sons and daughters was significantly better in the U.S. than in India and did not feel daughters were maltreated in Punjabi Sikh families in the U.S. One respondent described his observations of Punjabi Sikhs raising sons and daughters in the U.S. as follows:

As much as I have seen, we go to the *gurdwara* here, and it seems like families give the same importance to both sexes. If the daughter is smart, they endorse her education and if the son is smart, they support his education. Here, in all the families, some girls study at Berkeley, some in Sacramento. Some girls have been sent to China to study. Their sons didn't study, they work in stores, but the daughter was competent, so they sent her to China to become a doctor. They respect everyone equally. They don't see a difference between daughters and sons (H05).

While one husband did express hearing occasional instances of domestic violence towards wives and child abuse in the community, he did not feel the cases of child abuse were targeted only towards girls.

## **Conclusion**

Interviews with husbands and wives were done to compare perspectives and experiences of son preference and daughter neglect among married males and females raising their children within the Punjabi community of northern California, in addition to comparing their insights with those of sons and daughters. Wives who participated were forthcoming and more talkative than husbands during interviews, occasionally going off tangent in their desire to share personal experiences that they had not shared before. One key point emphasized by wives included their difficulty gaining independence and

authority within their marriage and household given pressure to adhere to expectations of a “good” wife and mother that came from both their husbands and in-laws. Of note, this was especially the case among highly educated respondents whose husbands were also highly educated with profitable careers and thus, did not see the need for their wives to step outside the home for their own fulfillment, for the family’s financial stability, or for their own financial independence. Some of these wives expressed that their husbands still resented the fact that they work but that this did not stop them from doing so.

Another main finding from the narratives of wives was their perception that there was no rationale for son preference to endure in the U.S. While they did not allow such beliefs to affect their own sons and daughters and sought to raise their sons to respect women and their daughters to be strong and independent, most knew many daughters and wives in their community network who were affected by the pressures, expectations, and abuse rooted in patriarchal family structures and attitudes in favor of son preference, and expressed that these sentiments were perpetuated by males and females in the community alike. Moreover, most wives reiterated that what they knew about was likely an underestimation given an emphasis in the culture of family interconnectedness and keeping family matters strictly within the family. Although husbands also felt there was no rationale for son preference in the U.S., unlike wives they did not reveal hearing or witnessing any evidence of attitudes or behaviors supportive of son preference among their community. No significant differences were perceived in perceptions of son preference by caste, or birth order and sex composition of children, or length of time residing in the U.S. among husbands or wives.

Compared to sons and daughters, husbands and wives were generally more difficult to recruit and less talkative in sharing their personal views and experiences. Similar to most sons, both husbands perceived equality between themselves and their wives in household roles and decision-making. Wives were similar to sons and daughters in expressing that a tendency to favor male children and be more lenient with them was still existent in parts of their extended family and in the greater community, whereas both husbands did not feel son preference persisted in Punjabi Sikh families in the Bay Area. Also similar to sons and daughters, nearly all wives felt change was overdue in increasing the presence and involvement of females at local *gurdwaras*. While sons and daughters openly shared their perceptions of how son preference and patriarchal family structures impacted both males and females, only two wives did so and their sentiments echoed those of sons and daughters in that they felt males often grew up unduly entitled while daughters were programmed to be demure and compromising. They felt this negatively impacted daughters' level of confidence and long-term relationships with their spouses and in-laws.

Four wives and one husband did not have time to hear and remark about the vignettes due to other commitments following their interview time. While two of these wives offered to schedule another date and time to complete the vignette portion of the interview, they ultimately did not respond to follow-up contacts in order to do so. Interestingly, it was assumed prior to initiating the study that vignettes would be key in fostering dialogue with husbands and wives who may be hesitant to respond to interview questions related to this topic but because most were responsive to questions and willing to share their perspectives and experiences, vignettes were not utilized with all

respondents and did not prove crucial to eliciting insights. Among the two wives and one husband who did comment on certain vignettes, both wives had heard of all three scenarios occurring in families in the community (although not in their own families or inner circle of friends) and the husband had not.

Given the limited participation of husbands in this study, a more thorough comparison of the perspectives of husbands and wives could not be completed. Husbands were the most difficult subgroup to recruit and the two that participated were extremely hesitant in doing so. Of note, three husbands and one wife who were recruited and who scheduled in-person or phone interviews with members of the research team opted not to participate after the informed consent was read to them prior to beginning their interviews.

## **Chapter 7: Conclusions**

This chapter presents a summary of the research aims and main findings, discussion, key strengths and limitations, implications for community- based programs and future research, and concluding thoughts.

### **Overview of Research Aims and Study Findings**

This dissertation had the following three main aims:

#### ***Phase One***

##### **Aim 1-**

To explore the manifestations of daughter neglect among Punjabi Sikh families from the perspective and experience of health and education professionals.

#### ***Phase Two***

##### **Aim 2-**

To explore perceptions of son preference and daughter neglect among unmarried sons and daughters from Punjabi Sikh families.

##### **Aim 3-**

To explore perceptions of son preference and daughter neglect among Punjabi Sikh husbands and wives.

The analysis of the narratives of 50 individuals whose perspectives were captured through these aims suggests that son preference continues to persist in this community predominantly in the form of emotional abuse and potentially increases the risk of psychological morbidities in women and girls across their lifespan, as documented by key informant and respondent accounts of low self-esteem, internalized oppression, depression, stress, and anxiety.

Across all respondents, the two most common themes that emerged were the emphasis on daughters being prepared for marriage and subsequent family duties, and the prevalence of intimate partner violence. While the latter was not an emphasis of this research, its preponderance in interviews with sons, daughters, husbands and wives in addition to key informants in a community where private issues are rarely discussed points to its pervasiveness and need for services to address the matter.

This research calls attention to the persistence of son preference and patriarchal family structures among a Punjabi Sikh immigrant community, highlighting the need for increased dialogue, awareness, and both preventive and treatment services for families around neglect and emotional and physical forms of maltreatment towards women and girls.

Given risks for posttraumatic stress disorder for immigrant families that have fled political turmoil or violence and struggled to live comfortably in the U.S., excessive emphases on family reputation and obligations, and pressure to balance homeland values with those of American culture, there are reasons for serious concern about the mental health issues silently endured by Asian American communities. As has been demonstrated in previous studies on gender socialization in South Asian families (Broude, 1994; Naidoo, 1984; Talbani and Hasanali, 2000), findings of this research suggest that girls in Punjabi Sikh families are more likely to bear the brunt of family pressure and internalize their emotions. Moreover, this study provides meaningful examples of the role of family and community structures in shaping and influencing health and wellbeing.

## Discussion

Better understanding the focus on preparing daughters for married lives, household responsibilities, and motherhood could be a crucial step to answering the question of why patriarchy persists in the immigrant context. This focus begins early in childhood for daughters with expectations that they should be caring, loving, soft-spoken, and submissive, continues into adolescence as certain domestic skills are emphasized or constantly discussed even in a joking manner, and peaks around early adulthood when marital prospects are perceived as a girl and her family's most important priority. Although one group of respondents, wives, shared that daughters are important for the role they play in ensuring cultural and religious values are carried forward, the way in which it was expressed by other respondents and key informants suggests that it could be especially contributory to the persistence of patriarchal beliefs in this community. Moreover, some felt that it diminishes the men's role and responsibility in the preservation of favorable aspects of culture. As expressed by one expert on political and social issues of India, "Patriarchal societies propagate the ideology of motherhood which restrict women's mobility and burdens them with the responsibilities to nurture and rear children. The biological factor to bear children is linked to the social position of women's responsibilities of motherhood: nurturing, educating and raising children by devoting themselves to family" (Ray, 2011, p.2). In this way, families play a pivotal role in socializing the next generation in patriarchal values through the emphasis on stereotypes of masculinity and femininity and by creating and constantly reinforcing the desired hierarchy for children to observe and emulate.



Another potential explanation for the persistence of patriarchal beliefs and son preference in this community may be related to stress resulting from migration and resettlement. In many families in the Punjabi Sikh community of the Bay Area, men struggle to find employment and end up working menial jobs for which they are significantly overqualified. Thus, they may adhere more tightly to patriarchal values in an effort to preserve some sense of control and maintain a position of power within the household that children observe and mirror. This explanation echoes those of other researchers who have examined patriarchy in South Asian and other minority communities (Crittenden and Wright, 2012; Shankar et al., 2013). Additionally, this sentiment may also explain why men may seek affirmation of their masculinity from the community and extended family members through the birth of a son or through a daughter's actions that maintain the *izzat*, or "honor," of the family, and thus reflect on him as the head of the clan.

Related to this, many families may place greater importance on family interconnectedness and fostering pride in their culture and traditions in light of hate crimes that Sikhs have endured since 9/11 and that have led some to abandon the Sikh physical identity or distance themselves from their minority community. Therefore, families may seek to preserve their beliefs and cultivate confidence in children about their identity and background by associating primarily with those of similar values and this may lead to the persistence of notions of son preference. In Northern California, the level of patriarchal ideas that are endorsed may thus be influenced by high densities of Punjabi Sikhs living within cities and congregating frequently at cultural and religious events.

As demonstrated in the conceptual framework adapted for this study, findings confirm that an overarching structure of patriarchy in the family and community combined with the immigrant experience grounds the ideology of son preference. Whether that ideology is translated into the practice of discrimination against girls was surmised to be influenced by individual and family level or structural level determinants. Based on the perspectives of study respondents, time residing in the U.S. was the only individual and family level determinant believed to affect whether ideology translates into practices, with families who had been residing in the U.S. for longer periods of time exhibiting less differential treatment towards daughters. Because most respondents did not feel that son preference ideologies and practices of maltreatment towards daughters were exhibited in their immediate families, a more definitive examination of the extent to which the determinants influenced practices of daughter neglect and abuse could not be undertaken. Further research is thus recommended among families who report differential treatment between sons and daughters to understand their background, preferences, and experiences and the role they may play in whether ideology manifests into practices or not. With regard to structural level determinants, findings from this research suggest that engaging the community in prevention activities and messaging and educational campaigns about services available to them may reduce the instances of daughter discrimination, although most key informants felt they could not accurately say exactly to what extent the practice existed in the community given the secretive and taboo nature of such family matters. Taken together, results propose that the conceptual framework adequately underscores the relationship between patriarchal structures, minority status, son preference ideology, practices of daughter neglect and abuse, and

potential outcomes, and provides a scaffold for further examinations of the influence of specific determinants.

## **Strengths and Limitations**

### ***Strengths***

Given the limited research thus far in general on issues of concern to South Asian American communities and specifically on perspectives of son preference among immigrants in the U.S., this dissertation initiates this conversation and fills this gap in the literature. Moreover, this study took an inclusive approach by involving community members as research assistants throughout the project, and including both male and female participants in hopes of gaining a more complete understanding of gender and family dynamics in the community.

Methodologically, the qualitative nature of this study was itself dually a strength in that it provided a vibrant and expressive means of capturing views of participants on a topic that would be difficult to explore preliminarily in a quantitative fashion, while also providing participants with an outlet to share experiences and views that are rarely discussed in both the family and community setting. Numerous respondents (among sons, daughters, and wives) expressed their gratitude in the study being undertaken, and their appreciation for an opportunity to consider issues and voice opinions that they had never considered or never had a chance to communicate, either because they were not asked or they were told not to discuss such matters in the name of cultural and familial preservation. Providing respondents with an opportunity to share their perspectives in their own words also lends credibility to an issue that is often ignored or denied by many members of the community, particularly among males in leadership roles.

This research also uniquely created and utilized vignettes, informed by key informant interviews in phase one of the research, to provide a less personal and thus, less threatening way to stimulate dialogue and explore delicate topics so participants could then define or explain situations from their own perspectives. These vignettes can be examined and modified for future research with this community or others in which approaching sensitive topics requires a comfortable approach. Although vignette use and development is somewhat documented in the research literature for other topics (Finch, 1987; Hill, 1997; Hazel, 1995; Hughes, 1998), examples are limited and their use in this study addresses this dearth while also providing a starting point for vignette use in future research on sensitive topics with immigrant, minority, and/or vulnerable populations.

### ***Limitations***

Given the sensitive and controversial nature of the topic of this study, it is probable that social desirability bias influenced the willingness of respondents to accurately or fully disclose their personal opinions and/or experiences, leading to an undervaluation of the extent or severity of manifestations of son preference in the community. To minimize this limitation, respondents were reminded that no personal identifying information was recorded, that they could withdraw participation at any time, or could decline to answer certain questions if they desired.

While common in qualitative studies, an additional limitation is the study's use of purposive and snowball sampling which can be prone to selection bias. However, there does seem to be overall agreement in peer reviewed literature that as a recruitment strategy, minority groups respond more positively to direct, personal appeals from individuals they know (Alvarez et al., 2006; Gittelsohn, 1998; Karwalajtys et al., 2010;

Moreno-John et al., 2004), a finding confirmed in this study's recruitment experience. Related to this limitation is the lack of a representative sample, given the use of purposive sampling and the focus on immigrants from a specific region of South Asia who have settled into a specific region of the U.S. While Northern California is diverse in representing a wide array of backgrounds, there may be certain qualities of immigrant individuals who choose to reside in this region that are distinct from those who choose to reside in other parts of the U.S. and which may influence external generalizability. This limitation is also relevant to key informants in that some informants represented domestic violence agencies and may have had more exposure to instances of family violence than others, which could have biased the results of aim one. In future research, it is hoped this limitation may be addressed by the participation of a more broad representation of individuals who work with South Asian community members, such as teachers, daycare workers, and salon employees.

### **Implications for Community-Based Programming**

The findings of this study suggest that outlets for community members to discuss the overarching culture of patriarchy and their influence on family dynamics are lacking, as are culturally-sensitive services for those that seek help. Because of their taboo and controversial nature, a key means to address such issues in the community and reduce stigma would be through community forums that shed light on the realities that many endure in silence, and that foster respectful, open discussion. It is hoped that these discussions at the community level may then influence conversations initiated at the family level. Additionally, parenting workshops that educate parents about effective communication, the challenges children face in balancing two cultures, and the

importance of parental attitudes and actions in influencing children's long-term health, wellbeing, and success would address an unmet need in the community strongly emphasized by many young respondents who felt their parents did not understand what they experienced growing up as children of immigrants in the U.S.

Additionally, the rationalization of differential treatment described and “internalized oppression” (Mulally, 2009; Shankar et al., 2013) perceived by some female respondents suggests that girls and women in the community may be at increased risk for continued abuse and may delay active coping strategies or help seeking. Thus, there is a need for sensitive and confidential programs that prevent, screen for, and address the manifestations of son preference that daughters endure in a way that respects both their immigrant status and the importance of family reputation in the community.

While it is important for this type of programming to exist for girls and women, it is equally crucial that males are involved in these endeavors and that services also exist to cater specifically to their needs. For male head of households who immigrated to the U.S. and have experienced conditions of stress as a result of migration and resettlement, an emphasis on patriarchy in a context where their children may eventually be influenced by western culture and choose not to accept patriarchal norms may result in physical and psychological health issues as a result of losing their dominance and authority in family decisions.

Many respondents expressed a significant community-level need to clarify distinctions between the values of equality advocated by Sikhism and the day-to-day cultural affairs that clouded these values in hopes that this message would eventually trickle down to families and individuals. In the same vein, female respondents almost

unanimously expressed that the *gurdwara*, as the core of the Punjabi Sikh community, should be driving and hosting such discussions, awareness campaigns, and the provision of services for the community in order to increase education about issues facing the community and to lessen the stigma of help-seeking.

I think there's a lot of space in our community for services. For service-providers that are really specific and targeted for Punjabi men too. And I think we have in our *gurdwaras* specifically the opportunity to provide these services and I hope- I know there are organizations that are working on providing, you know, help and support for women who are facing domestic violence, or have faced sexual violence at some point in their lives... providing these services or providing at least support lines for them in our communities, and that's really encouraging to hear. And I hope we continue as a community to see that THESE are the issues that we have and we have to address them and we have to address them as a community... (D10).

### **Implications for Research**

The findings of this exploratory study suggest many potential avenues for further research and provide insight into methodological and ethical considerations for future work within the Punjabi Sikh community, the greater South Asian community, and minority, immigrant groups in general.

One significant area for future research is to understand the extent to which family beliefs and actions around patriarchy and son preference influence mental health outcomes for girls, boys, men, and women who belong to the Punjabi Sikh community using a scale validated for use with this type of community. Other studies have documented barriers to accessing mental health services in other North American Punjabi Sikh communities that include a lack of understanding about mental health, a lack of awareness about services available in the community, and cultural stigma, superstition and discrimination surrounding mental issues and illness (Gill, 2010; Simich et al., 2009).

Thus, understanding exactly how community members are affected would be a first step to addressing such barriers, tailoring prevention programs, and improving help-seeking behaviors. Additionally, including groups of other minority immigrant and Caucasian communities to compare experiences with son preference and mental health outcomes with would strengthen an understanding of the scale of the issue among Punjabi Sikhs. While the focus of this exploratory dissertation was to provide rich, meaningful information and increase an understanding of this issue specifically among Punjabi Sikhs, comparing the experiences of Punjabi Sikhs to other communities would be a valuable avenue for future research.

Gossip was described by many female respondents as a key element engrained in Punjabi social and cultural interactions. While other researchers have described both positive and detrimental influences of culturally-based gossip, both in the South Asian diaspora and in other populations (Bradby et al., 2007; Time to Change, 2010; Feinberg et al., 2012), the issue has not been examined thoroughly in this specific community. Moreover, given the frequency with which gossip was mentioned as a significant issue of concern for respondents and their families, and one that key informants also acknowledged as a potential factor in exacerbating individual and family issues in addition to a barrier for acknowledging a problem and seeking help, further examination of the influence of gossip on self-image and mental health is warranted. Especially for girls and young women, it seems that cultural remarks and expectations by community members that demean and devalue have a way of getting under their skin and leading to forms of internalized oppression. Thus, an important avenue for future research could entail exploring the dual impact of this type of stressor within the community combined



with stressors and stereotypes faced from the mainstream community on cortisol levels, aging processes, and levels of educational and career attainment in addition to psychosocial outcomes.

Another opportunity for research given the extensive awareness of domestic violence in the community would be exploring the impact of domestic and intimate partner violence, in addition to emotional abuse towards children described by some respondents, on physical and psychological child development outcomes and later health outcomes in adulthood among South Asian American communities. Recent research conducted in another population in the U.S. has documented the deleterious effect of family violence and disruption on telomere length in childhood, and found an especially detrimental impact on female children compared to male children (Drury et al., 2014). Shorter telomere length is linked to increased risks for cognitive decline, diabetes, heart disease, obesity, mental illness, and other poor health outcomes in adulthood. In this dissertation research, respondents described more instances of intimate partner violence and emotional abuse than physical abuse towards children but in most examples of physical abuse towards children, it was not targeted only to male or female children but rather impacted all children in a household equally regardless of sex. However, because intimate partner violence and child abuse are believed to coexist and intimate partner violence is considered a form of child maltreatment itself that is associated with mental health impairment (Kelleher et al., 2006; Macmillen and Wathen, 2014), the effect on children in this community who also face patriarchal dynamics in the community warrants exploration. Understanding whether and how male and female children are affected differently across the lifespan along with whether the impact varies depending

which parent (or extended family member) is the abuser would help the community better target services and preventive measures.

Related to research methodology, the fact that some respondents declined participation after hearing some or all of the informed consent indicates that obtaining a better understanding of sensitively working with immigrant communities who have many concerns related to their legal status and conveying the necessary information in an accurate yet clear way is an important preparatory research step that should be refined in collaboration with ethical review boards.

### **Concluding Thoughts**

This research explores the sociocultural meanings and motives for patriarchal family structures and son preference, its manifestations in family and community environments, and the impact on both males and females by exploring the experiences and perspectives of married individuals who relocated to the U.S. and chose to raise their children here in addition to young, unmarried children of immigrants who consider the U.S. their permanent home. These findings address a gap in the literature on son preference among South Asians in the U.S. and may inform future programing and research with Punjabi Sikh, South Asian, and other immigrant communities, drawing special attention to the multifaceted challenges faced by immigrant groups and the effect on women and girls belonging to these populations. By confronting the family and community-level issues considered contributory to son preference and working with a younger generation keen on identifying and addressing pressing social issues that have ramifications for the health and wellbeing of their community, it is hoped that reducing

the burden of patriarchy and son preference becomes a priority not only for families but also for religious and cultural leaders at the heart of the community.

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## **Appendices**

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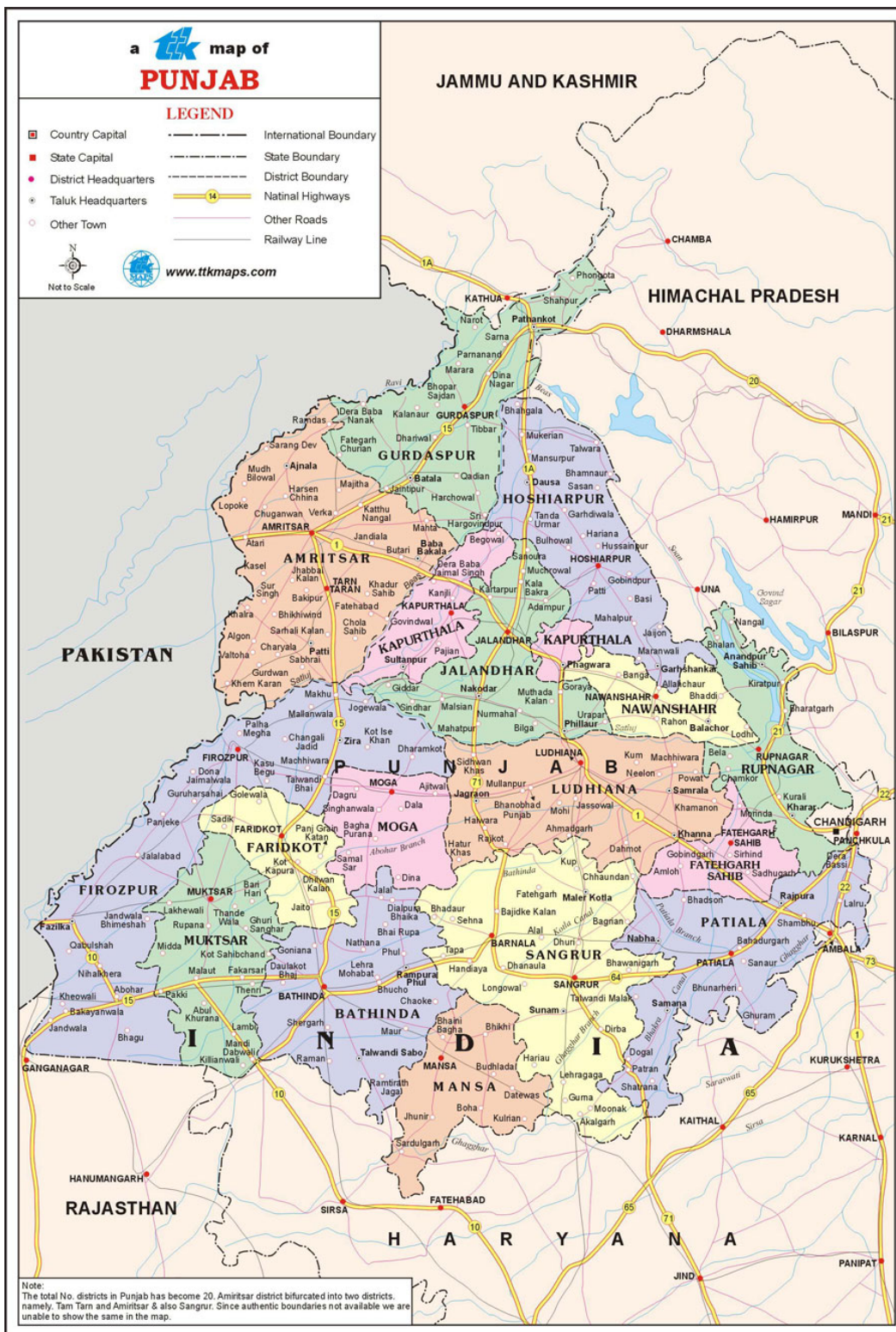
Appendix M: Online Survey Consent- Husbands

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## Appendix I: Map of Punjab



## **Appendix II: Phase One Study Materials**



### *Appendix A: Key Informant Information Letter*

Principal Investigator: Kristin Mmari, DrPH  
Assistant Professor  
Department of Population, Family and  
Reproductive Health  
Johns Hopkins Bloomberg School of Public Health

Institution: Johns Hopkins Bloomberg School of Public Health

Study Title: Son Preference and Daughter Neglect among North Indian  
Immigrants in the Northern California Bay Area: Phase 1

IRB No.: IRB00004802

PI Version Number/Date: Version 1, December 18, 2012

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Dear [KEY INFORMANT NAME]:

I am writing to you today to inform you about a project we are planning at the Johns Hopkins School of Public Health to better understand son preference and daughter discrimination/ daughter neglect among North Indian immigrants residing in the Northern California Bay Area. To accomplish this, we are planning to carry out a two-phased study to explore perspectives of son preference among various family members. In sending you this letter, I would like to give you an overview of the study with the hope that we can have a follow-up conversation by telephone about your work with the South Asian community in the Bay Area and ways in which your knowledge and experiences may inform this study.

While this phenomenon is well-researched in India, limited research attention has been given to the persistence of son preference ideology among the significant and growing Indian immigrant population in the United States and its implications for living girls. In a context that varies from their natal countries in that women are not as marginalized and women's choice and autonomy are valued, this study seeks to explore what the male and female familial perspectives of son preference and daughter neglect are among Indian immigrants in the United States, and what professionals in the spheres of education, childcare, and medical and health services who interact with Indian community members have experienced with regard to the phenomenon.

During **Phase 1** of the study, we hope to learn from adults who serve South Asian needs in the community. This portion of the study will involve key informant interviews with local leaders and experts like you who are familiar with the culture of the South Asian community and aware of the challenges faced in exploring and understanding issues of tradition, culture, and gender in this population. The findings from this first phase of research will inform and shape **Phase 2**, which will include in-person, in-depth

interviews with husbands, wives, sons, and daughters of North Indian immigrant families, in addition to interviews with professionals in the spheres of education and childcare.

In the coming days, we would like to contact you by telephone to speak with you more about this project. It is our hope that we can learn from your expertise, and that we can work together to better understand how son preference affects daughters of Indian immigrants residing in the Bay Area. If you have any questions about the study or would like to get involved, please contact Simran Sabherwal by phone at (408) 425-4282 or via email at [ssabherw@jhsph.edu](mailto:ssabherw@jhsph.edu). Thank you and we look forward to hearing from you!

Sincerely,

Kristin Mmari and Simran Sabherwal

## ***Appendix B: Key Informant Telephone Recruitment & Oral Consent***

Principal Investigator: Kristin Mmari, DrPH  
Assistant Professor  
Department of Population, Family and Reproductive Health  
Johns Hopkins Bloomberg School of Public Health

Institution: Johns Hopkins Bloomberg School of Public Health

Study Title: Son Preference and Daughter Neglect among North Indian Immigrants in the Northern California Bay Area: Phase 1

IRB No.: IRB00004802

PI Version Number/Date: Version 2, December 20, 2012

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Hello, my name is Simran Sabherwal and I am calling from the Johns Hopkins Bloomberg School of Public Health. May I speak with (NAME OF POTENTIAL KEY INFORMANT) ?

Hello, my name is Simran Sabherwal and I am calling from the Johns Hopkins Bloomberg School of Public Health. We are working on a study to better understand son preference and daughter discrimination among Indian immigrants in the Bay Area and would like to talk with you because of the knowledge and expertise you have working with South Asians in this community.

The purpose of this interview is to hear from leaders and experts who serve or interact with Indian immigrants in this community. We want to get a better understanding of what you see as the underlying reasons for son preference among Indian immigrants in the U.S., learn more about how you perceive daughter discrimination/neglect manifests in the community, and to gain any insights or suggestions you may have about practically conducting the study in this population. If you agree to participate, we will speak with you twice by phone after today.

Because we want to hear everything you have to say, we will digitally record your interview, but only people who work on this project will hear the recording and you will not be identified by name. At the end of the study, all recordings will be destroyed. Only people who work on this project will be able to see the transcript of your interview, and your name will not be used in anything we write. The first interview will last between 30 and 60 minutes and the second 15-30 minutes. If you are uncomfortable answering any of questions, you can choose not to answer or can discontinue participation at any time.

**There are no significant risks associated with being interviewed; it is simply an opportunity for us to learn from your expertise as a local leader working with South Asians in your community. We have a number of steps in place to make sure individuals outside the research team will not know what you said during the**

**interview, including not asking any personal identifying information during the actual interview, and if any personal identifying information does get discussed, it will be deleted in the transcripts. The digital recordings will be kept in a secure location and will be destroyed after the data has been analyzed.**

**There is not direct benefit to you by participating in this study. We will use the information you and other key informants provide to inform the next phase of this study and to better understand the health and wellbeing of girls in the Indian immigrant community. Your participation in this study is completely voluntary. That means that you may choose not to be interviewed and if you choose not to participate, it will not be held against you in any way.**

Would you be willing to participate in the interview?

Is it okay that the interview will be recorded?

Is there a day and time that is most convenient for you to participate in the phone interview? *(Record dates and times)*

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What is the best phone number at which to reach you?

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Do you have any questions for me?

Thank you very much for your time!

Please feel free to contact me at (408) 425-4282 or by email at [ssabherw@jhsph.edu](mailto:ssabherw@jhsph.edu) if there are any changes to your schedule or if you have any further questions.

You may also contact the Johns Hopkins School of Public Health Institutional Review Board, which approved this study, about any problems or concerns at (410) 955-3193 or 1-888-262-3242.

### ***Appendix C: Key Informant Interview Guide***

Principal Investigator: Kristin Mmari, DrPH  
Assistant Professor  
Department of Population, Family and Reproductive  
Health  
Johns Hopkins Bloomberg School of Public Health

Institution: Johns Hopkins Bloomberg School of Public Health

Study Title: Son Preference and Daughter Neglect among North Indian  
Immigrants in the Northern California Bay Area: Phase 1

IRB No.: IRB00004802

PI Version Number/Date: Version 2, December 20, 2012

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***Thank you for taking the time to talk with me today about your understanding of and experience working with South Asians in this community. I would like to ask you a few background questions before we get started.***

#### **BACKGROUND INFORMATION**

1. Gender of Key Informant:      \_\_\_ Male      \_\_\_ Female (check one)
2. How long have you worked with this community? \_\_\_\_\_ months/years (circle one)
3. In what capacity do you work with this organization and/or in this community?

***Thank you. Let's begin our discussion.***

1. What are the mission and goals of your organization?
2. How long has it been in existence?
3. What services are most commonly used by clients of your organization?
  - a. Probe: Is it different for males vs. females? How?
4. What appears to be the primary health issues for Indian immigrants in this community?
  - a. Probe: How much of a problem is domestic violence? Family violence? Child abuse? Substance use? Mental health? Sexual and reproductive health?
  - b. Probe: How are the health issues in this community different for males vs. females?

- c. Probe: How are the health issues difference across generations (i.e. for immigrants who have been here longer or for foreign-born vs. those born in the U.S.)?
- 5. What are Indian immigrant perceptions of gender?
  - a. Probe: What are expectations of males in this community? What are expectations of females?
  - b. Probe: Does it vary by age? If so, how?
  - c. Probe: Does it vary by generation? Or by length of time residing in the U.S.? If so, how?
- 6. To what extent does son preference exist in the community?
  - a. Probe: What changes in this ideology, if any, do you observe across generations?
  - b. Probe: Which specific Indian groups does it seem most prominent in?

***This next set of questions will focus on suggestions you may have for informing the next phase of this study.***

- 1. How willing would Indians in this community be to participate in a research study?
- 2. What are the main challenges in conducting a study with this community?
  - a. Probe: Do you have any suggestions for encouraging participation?
  - b. Probe: In your opinion, how should sensitive questions be approached?
- 3. We would like to use vignettes in order to make it less personal and more comfortable for participants to openly discuss this issue during interviews. What types of scenarios would you suggest using for these vignettes?
  - a. Probe: How should the scenarios vary for male vs. female participants?
  - b. Probe: How should the scenarios vary for older vs. younger participants?
- 4. Are there any upcoming local activities or events where we may tell people about this study and recruit community members to participate?
- 5. Is there anything else you would like to share about perspectives on son preference and daughter discrimination in this community?

### **Appendix III: Phase Two Study Materials**

***Appendix A: In-Person Recruitment Script & Oral Consent for Background Questionnaire (ENGLISH)***

Principal Investigator: Kristin Mmari, DrPH  
Assistant Professor  
Department of Population, Family and Reproductive Health  
Johns Hopkins Bloomberg School of Public Health

Institution: Johns Hopkins Bloomberg School of Public Health

Study Title: An Exploration of Son Preference and Daughter Neglect among Punjabi Sikh Immigrants in the Northern California Bay Area

IRB No.: IRB00005008

PI Version Number/Date: Version 5, October 2, 2013

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Hello, my name is Simran [*or insert name of research team member*] and I am from the Johns Hopkins Bloomberg School of Public Health. We are working on a study to better understand family dynamics and possible differences in the ways Indian immigrant parents raise boys and girls within the family. We would like to talk to you to get your opinions and perspectives about this since you are a member of this community here in the Bay Area. You are eligible to participate if you:

- [*for husbands/wives recruitment*] are married, were born in north India, are at least 21 years of age, and have at least 2 children
- [*for sons/daughters recruitment*] are age 18-24 years, unmarried, and have at least 1 sibling

If you agree to participate, we will speak with you briefly today to learn more about your background and family, and then may follow-up with you to speak once again by phone or in-person after today at a date, time and location that works best for you.

Because we want to hear everything you have to say, we will digitally record your interview, but only people who work on this project will hear the recording and you will not be identified by name. At the end of the study, all recordings will be destroyed. Only people who work on this project will be able to see the transcript of your interview, and your name will not be used in anything we write. The interview will last between 30 and 60 minutes. If you are uncomfortable answering any of questions, you can choose not to answer or can discontinue participation at any time. A resource sheet will be given to you at the end of the interview with contact information for various shelters, help-lines, organizations, and informational websites in case you would like to speak to someone further about anything we discussed today or about any concerns you may have.

**In research studies involving interviews, there is always some possibility that information will be seen by people who are not part of the research team. We have a number of steps in place to make sure individuals outside the research team will not know what you said during the interview, including not asking any personal**



**identifying information during the actual interview, and if any personal identifying information does get discussed, it will be deleted in the transcripts. The digital recordings will be kept in a secure location and will be destroyed after the data has been analyzed.** Should there be a suspicion of child abuse or criminal activity during the interview, confidentiality may need to be breached due to an obligation to report child abuse and criminal activity.

**There is no direct benefit to you by participating in this study but your perspectives will help us and other professionals better understand the health and wellbeing of Indians in this community. Your participation in this study is completely voluntary.** That means that you may choose not to be interviewed and if you choose not to participate, it will not be held against you in any way.

If you complete both the background questions and interview, you will receive a \$10 gift card to Target or Starbucks.

Would you be willing to participate in the interview?    ☐ Yes    ☐ No (*check one*)

Is it okay that the interview will be recorded?    ☐ Yes    ☐ No (*check one*)

Do you have any questions for me?

Thank you very much for your time and willingness to participate!

Please feel free to contact me at (408) 425-4282 or by email at [simran3@gmail.com](mailto:simran3@gmail.com) if there are any changes to your schedule or if you have any further questions.

You may also contact the Johns Hopkins School of Public Health Institutional Review Board, which approved this study, about any problems or concerns at (410) 955-3193 or 1-888-262-3242.



Approval Date: October 3, 2013  
Approved Consent Version No.: 2  
PI Name: Kristin Mmari  
IRB No. 00005008

## Appendix B: In-Person Recruitment Script & Oral Consent for Background Questionnaire (PUNJABI)

**Principal Investigator:** Kristin Mmari, DrPH  
Assistant Professor  
Department of Population, Family and Reproductive Health  
Johns Hopkins Bloomberg School of Public Health

**Institution:** Johns Hopkins Bloomberg School of Public Health

**Study Title:** An Exploration of Son Preference and Daughter Neglect among Punjabi Sikh Immigrants in the Northern California Bay Area

**IRB No.:** IRB00005008

**PI Version Number/Date:** Version 3, October 2, 2013

ਸਤ ਸ੍ਰੀ ਅਕਾਲ, ਮੇਰਾ ਨਾਮ ਸਿਮਰਨ ਹੈ [ ਜਾਂ ਅਨੁਸੰਧਾਨ ਟੀਮ ਦੇ ਮੈਂਬਰ ਦਾ ਨਾਮ ਲਿਖੀਏ ] ਅਤੇ ਮੈਂ ਵਿਅਕਤੀ ਸਿਰਫ਼ ਦੇ ਜਾਂਸ ਹਾਪਕਿੰਸ ਬਲੂਮਬਰਗ ਸਕੂਲ ਵਲੋਂ ਹਾਂ। ਅਸੀਂ ਪਰਵਾਰ ਦੀ ਗਤੀਸ਼ੀਲਤਾ ਅਤੇ ਭਾਰਤੀ ਆਪ੍ਰਵਾਸੀ ਮਾਤਾ ਪਿਤਾ ਦੇ ਪਰਵਾਰ ਦੇ ਅੰਦਰ ਮੁੰਡੀਆਂ ਅਤੇ ਲੜਕੀਆਂ ਨੂੰ ਵਧਾਉਣ ਦੇ ਤਰੀਕੇ ਵਿੱਚ ਸੰਭਵ ਅੰਤਰ ਨੂੰ ਸਮਝਣ ਲਈ ਇੱਕ ਪੜ੍ਹਾਈ ਉੱਤੇ ਕੰਮ ਕਰ ਰਹੇ ਹਾਂ। ਅਸੀਂ ਤੁਹਾਡੇ ਨਾਲ ਤੁਹਾਡੀ ਰਾਏ ਅਤੇ ਦ੍ਰਸ਼ਟੀਕੋਣ ਨੂੰ ਪ੍ਰਾਪਤ ਕਰਨਾ ਚਾਹੁੰਦੇ ਹਾਂ ਕਿਉਂਕਿ ਤੁਸੀਂ ਇੱਸ ਸਮੁਦਾਏ ਦੇ ਇੱਕ ਮੈਂਬਰ ਹੋ।

• [ ਪਤੀ / ਪਤਨੀਆਂ ਭਰਤੀ ਦੇ ਲਈ ] ਵਿਆਹੇ ਹਨ, ਉੱਤਰ ਭਾਰਤ ਵਿੱਚ ਪੈਦਾ ਹੋਏ ਸਨ, ਉਮਰ ਘੱਟ ਤੋਂ ਘੱਟ 21 ਸਾਲ ਦੇ ਹਨ, ਅਤੇ ਘੱਟ ਤੋਂ ਘੱਟ 2 ਬੱਚੇ ਹਨ।

• [ ਪੁੱਤਰਾਂ / ਪੁਤਰੀਆਂ ਭਰਤੀ ਦੇ ਲਈ ] ਉਮਰ 18-24 ਸਾਲ ਦੇ ਕੰਵਾਰਾ ਹਨ, ਅਤੇ ਘੱਟ ਤੋਂ ਘੱਟ 1 ਭਰਾ ਹੈ

ਤੁਸੀਂ ਭਾਗ ਲੈਣ ਲਈ ਸਹਿਮਤ ਹੋ, ਤਾਂ ਅਸੀਂ ਤੁਹਾਡੇ ਨਾਲ ਸਖੇਪ ਵਿਚ ਤੁਹਾਡੇ ਪ੍ਰਸ਼ਨਭੂਮੀ ਅਤੇ ਪਰਵਾਰ ਦੇ ਬਾਰੇ ਜਾਣਨਾ ਚਾਵਾਂਗੇ ਅਤੇ ਫਿਰ ਸ਼ਾਇਦ ਦੁਬਾਰਾ ਕਿਸੀ ਤਾਰੀਕ, ਸਮਾਂ ਤੇ ਸਥਾਨ, ਜੇੜਾ ਤੁਹਾਡੇ ਲਈ ਅਛਾ ਹੋਵੇ ਮਿਲਨ ਦਾ ਯਤਨ ਕਰਾਂਗੇ।

ਤਸੀ ਜੋ ਕਹਿਣਾ ਹੈ, ਅਸੀਂ ਸਭ ਕੁੱਝ ਸੁਣਨਾ ਚਾਹੁੰਦੇ ਹਾਂ। ਇਸਲਈ ਸਾਕਸ਼ਾਤਕਾਰ ਡਿਜ਼ਿਟਲੀ ਰਿਕਾਰਡ ਹੋਵੇਗਾ, ਲੇਕਿਨ ਕੇਵਲ ਇਸ ਪਰਯੋਜਨਾ ਉੱਤੇ ਕੰਮ ਕਰਨ ਵਾਲੇ ਲੋਕਾਂ ਰਿਕਾਰਡਿੰਗ ਸੁਣਿਆ ਜਾਵੇਗਾ ਅਤੇ ਤੁਹਾਡੇ ਨਾਮ ਵਲੋਂ ਪਹਿਚਾਣ ਨਹੀਂ ਕੀਤੀ ਜਾਵੇਗੀ। ਪੜ੍ਹਾਈ ਦੇ ਅੰਤ ਵਿੱਚ, ਸਾਰੇ ਰਿਕਾਰਡਿੰਗ ਨਸ਼ਟ ਕਰ ਦਿੱਤੇ ਜਾਵਨਗੇ। ਕੇਵਲ ਇਸ ਪਰਯੋਜਨਾ ਉੱਤੇ ਸਬਰਵਾਲ, ਪੰਜਾਬੀ ਸਿੱਖ ਵਿੱਚ ਧੀ ਉਪੇਕਸ਼ਾ ਅਤੇ ਪੁੱਤ ਪਸੰਦ ਉੱਤਰੀ ਕੈਲਿਫੋਰਨਿਆ ਦੇ ਬੇ ਏਰਿਆ ਵਿੱਚ ਆਪ੍ਰਵਾਸੀਆਂ

ਪੇਜ 1 ਦੀ 3



Approval Date: October 3, 2013  
Approved Consent Version No.: 2  
PI Name: Kristin Mmari  
IRB No: 00005008

ਕੰਮ ਕਰਣ ਵਾਲੇ ਲੋਕਾਂ ਨੂੰ ਆਪਣੇ ਸਾਕਸ਼ਾਤਕਾਰ ਦੀ ਨਕਲ ਨੂੰ ਦੇਖਣ ਲਈ ਸਮਰੱਥਾਵਾਂ ਹੋ ਜਾਵੇਗਾ, ਅਤੇ ਆਪਣੇ ਨਾਮ ਅਸੀਂ ਲਿਖਣ ਵਿੱਚ ਕੁੱਝ ਵੀ ਨਹੀਂ ਕੀਤਾ ਜਾਵੇਗਾ. ਸਾਕਸ਼ਾਤਕਾਰ 30 ਅਤੇ 60 ਮਿੰਟ ਦੇ ਵਿੱਚ ਪਿਛਲੇ ਜਾਵੇਗਾ. ਤੁਸੀਂ ਕਿਸੇ ਵੀ ਸਵਾਲ ਦਾ ਜਵਾਬ ਦੇਣ ਵਾਲੇ ਅਸਰਜ ਮਹਿਸੂਸ ਕਰ ਰਹੇ ਹੋ, ਤਾਂ ਤੁਸੀਂ ਜਵਾਬ ਦੇਣ ਲਈ ਨਹੀਂ ਚੁਨ ਸਕਦੇ ਹਾਂ ਜਾਂ ਕਿਸੇ ਵੀ ਸਮਾਂ ਭਾਗੀਦਾਰੀ ਖਤਮ ਕਰ ਸਕਦੇ ਹੋ. ਜੇਕਰ ਤੁਸੀਂ ਕੁੱਝ ਦੇ ਬਾਰੇ ਵਿੱਚ ਅੱਗੇ ਕਿਸੇ ਵਲੋਂ ਗੱਲ ਕਰਣਾ ਚਾਹੁੰਦੇ ਹੋ ਮਾਮਲੇ ਵਿੱਚ ਇੱਕ ਸੰਸਥਾਨ ਚਾਦਰ ਵੱਖਰਾ ਘਰਾਂ ਵਿੱਚ, ਮਦਦ ਲਾਇਨਾਂ, ਸੰਗਠਨਾਂ, ਅਤੇ ਸੂਚਨਾ ਦੇ ਵੇਬਸਾਈਟੋਂ ਲਈ ਸੰਪਰਕ ਜਾਣਕਾਰੀ ਦੇ ਨਾਲ ਸਾਕਸ਼ਾਤਕਾਰ ਦੇ ਅੰਤ ਵਿੱਚ ਤੁਹਾਡੇ ਲਈ ਦਿੱਤਾ ਜਾਵੇਗਾ ਕਿ ਅੱਜ ਅਸੀਂ ਚਰਚਾ ਜਾਂ ਦੇ ਬਾਰੇ ਵਿੱਚ ਕੋਈ ਚਿੰਤਾ ਹੋ ਸਕਦਾ ਹੈ.

ਸਾਕਸ਼ਾਤਕਾਰ ਸ਼ਾਮਲ ਪੜ੍ਹਾਈ ਵਿੱਚ, ਇਹ ਹਮੇਸ਼ਾ ਹੀ ਕੁਝ ਸੰਭਾਵਨਾ ਹੈ ਕੀ ਵਾਦ ਵਾਰਤਾ ਉਨ੍ਹਾਂ ਅਨੁਸੰਧਾਨ ਟੀਮ ਦਾ ਹਿੱਸਾ ਨਹੀਂ ਹਨ. ਅਸੀਂ ਅਨੁਸੰਧਾਨ ਟੀਮ ਦੇ ਬਾਹਰ ਸੁਨਿਸਚਿਤ ਆਦਮੀਆਂ ਤੁਸੀਂ ਅਸਲੀ ਸਾਕਸ਼ਾਤਕਾਰ ਦੇ ਦੌਰਾਨ ਕਿਸੇ ਵੀ ਵਿਅਕਤੀਗਤ ਪਹਿਚਾਣ ਦੀ ਜਾਣਕਾਰੀ ਨਹੀਂ ਪੂਰਾ ਸਹਿਤ ਸਾਕਸ਼ਾਤਕਾਰ ਦੇ ਦੌਰਾਨ ਕਿਹਾ ਕਿ ਪਤਾ ਨਹੀਂ ਕੀ ਹੋਵੇਗਾ ਬਣਾਉਣ ਲਈ ਜਗ੍ਹਾ ਵਿੱਚ ਕਦਮ ਦੀ ਇੱਕ ਗਿਣਤੀ ਹੈ, ਅਤੇ ਕਿਸੇ ਵੀ ਵਿਅਕਤੀਗਤ ਪਹਿਚਾਣ ਦੀ ਜਾਣਕਾਰੀ ਉੱਤੇ ਚਰਚਾ ਦੀ ਜਾਂਦੀ ਹੈ, ਤਾਂ ਇਹ ਹੋਵੇਗਾ ਟੋਪ ਵਿੱਚ ਨਸ਼ਟ ਕਰ ਦਿੱਤਾ ਜਾਵੇਗਾ. ਡਿਜ਼ਿਟਲ ਰਿਕਾਰਡਿੰਗ ਇੱਕ ਸੁਰੱਖਿਅਤ ਸਥਾਨ ਵਿੱਚ ਰੱਖਿਆ ਜਾਵੇਗਾ ਅਤੇ ਡੇਟਾ ਦਾ ਵਿਸ਼ਲੇਸ਼ਣ ਕੀਤਾ ਗਿਆ ਹੈ ਦੇ ਬਾਅਦ ਨਸ਼ਟ ਕਰ ਦਿੱਤਾ ਜਾਵੇਗਾ. ਉੱਥੇ ਸਾਕਸ਼ਾਤਕਾਰ ਦੇ ਦੌਰਾਨ ਬੱਚੇ ਦੇ ਦੁਰਪਯੋਗ ਜਾਂ ਆਪਰਾਧਿਕ ਗਤੀਵਿਧੀਆਂ ਦੇ ਸ਼ੱਕ ਹੋਣਾ ਚਾਹੀਦਾ ਹੈ, ਗੁਪਤ ਬੱਚੇ ਦੇ ਦੁਰਪਯੋਗ ਅਤੇ ਆਪਰਾਧਿਕ ਗਤੀਵਿਧੀ ਰਿਪੋਰਟ ਕਰਣ ਲਈ ਇੱਕ ਫਰਜ਼ ਦੀ ਵਜ੍ਹਾ ਵਲੋਂ ਪਾਰ ਹੋਣਾ ਪੈ ਸਕਦਾ ਹੈ.

ਇਸ ਪੜ੍ਹਾਈ ਵਿੱਚ ਭਾਗ ਲੈਣ ਵਾਲੇ ਤੁਹਾਡੇ ਲਈ ਕੋਈ ਪ੍ਰਤੱਖ ਮੁਨਾਫ਼ਾ ਨਹੀਂ ਹੈ, ਲੇਕਿਨ ਆਪਣੇ ਦ੍ਰਿਸ਼ਟੀਕੋਣ ਸਾਨੂੰ ਅਤੇ ਹੋਰ ਪੇਸ਼ੇਵਰਾਂ ਲਈ ਬਿਹਤਰ ਹੈ ਇਸ ਸਮੁਦਾਏ ਵਿੱਚ ਭਾਰਤੀਆਂ ਦੇ ਸਿਹਤ ਅਤੇ ਭਲਾਈ ਸੱਮਝਣ ਵਿੱਚ ਮਦਦ ਮਿਲੇਗੀ. ਇਸ ਪੜ੍ਹਾਈ ਵਿੱਚ ਤੁਹਾਡੀ ਭਾਗੀਦਾਰੀ ਪੂਰੀ ਤਰ੍ਹਾਂ ਸਵੈਵਿਭਿੰਨ ਹੈ: ਇਸਦਾ ਮਤਲੱਬ ਹੈ ਕਿ ਸਾਕਸ਼ਾਤਕਾਰ ਦੇ ਵੇਲੇ ਕਿਸੀ ਵੀ ਵਕਤ ਤੁਸੀਂ ਭਾਗ ਲੈਣ ਤੋਂ ਮਨਾ ਕਰ ਸਕਦੇ ਹੋ. ਅਗਰ ਤੁਸੀਂ ਭਾਗ ਨਹੀਂ ਲੈਣਾ ਚਾਹੁੰਦੇ. ਤਾਂ ਇਹ ਕਿਸੇ ਵੀ ਤਰ੍ਹਾਂ ਵਲੋਂ ਤੁਹਾਡੇ ਖਿਲਾਫ਼ ਆਜ਼ੇਜਿਤ ਨਹੀਂ ਕੀਤਾ ਜਾਵੇਗਾ

ਇਸ ਪੜ੍ਹਾਈ ਵਿੱਚ ਹਿੱਸਾ ਲੈਣ ਲਈ ਤੁਹਾਨੂੰ \$90 ਦਾ “ਟਾਰਗਟ” ਜਾਂ “ਸਟਾਰਬਕਸ” ਦਾ ਉਪਹਾਰ ਕਾਰਡ ਦਿੱਤਾ ਜਾਵੇਗਾ.

ਤੁਸੀਂ ਸਾਕਸ਼ਾਤਕਾਰ ਵਿੱਚ ਭਾਗ ਲੈਣ ਲਈ ਤਿਆਰ ਹੋ? \_\_\_\_ ਹਾਂ \_\_\_\_ ਨਹੀਂ (ਚੋਕ ਗਈ)

ਇਹ ਸਾਕਸ਼ਾਤਕਾਰ ਦਰਜ ਹੋ ਜਾਵੇਗਾ ਇਹ ਠੀਕ ਹੈ? \_\_\_\_ ਹਾਂ \_\_\_\_ ਨਹੀਂ (ਚੋਕ ਗਈ)

ਸਬਰਵਾਲ, ਪੰਜਾਬੀ ਸਿੱਖ ਵਿੱਚ ਧੀ ਉਪੇਕਸ਼ਾ ਅਤੇ ਪੁੱਤ ਪਸੰਦ

ਉੱਤਰੀ ਕੈਲਿਫੋਰਨੀਆ ਦੇ ਬੇ ਏਰਿਆ ਵਿੱਚ ਆਪ੍ਰਵਾਸਿਆਂ

ਪੇਜ 2 ਦੀ 3



Approval Date: October 3, 2013  
Approved Consent Version No.: 2  
PI Name: Kristin Mmari  
IRB No. 00005008

ਤਵਾਂਨੂ ਮੇਰੇ ਲਈ ਕੋਈ ਸਵਾਲ ਹੈ ?

ਆਪਣੇ ਸਮਾਂ ਅਤੇ ਭਾਗ ਲੈਣ ਦੀ ਇੱਛਾ ਲਈ ਬਹੁਤ ਬਹੁਤ ਧੰਨਵਾਦ !

ਸਾਕਸ਼ਾਤਕਾਰ ਖਤਮ ਹੋਣ ਦੇ ਬਾਅਦ ਜੇਕਰ ਤਵਾਂਨੂ ਕੋਈ ਪ੍ਰਸ਼ਨ ਜਾਂ ਚਿੰਤਾ ਹੈ ਤੇ ਭੁਲੀ ਆਜਾਦੀ ਨਾਲ ਇਸ ਈਮੇਲ ਤੇ  
ਡੋਨ ਦੇ ਦੁਆਰੇ ਮੈਨੂੰ ਸੰਪਰਕ ਕਰ ਸਕਦੇ ਹੋ: simran3@gmail.com ਉੱਤੇ (੪੦੮) ੪੨੫-੪੨੮੨.

ਤੂੰਸੀ ਇਸ (੪੧੦) ੯੫੫-੩੧੯੩ ਜਾਂ ੧-੮੮੮-੨੬੨-੩੨੪੨ ਉੱਤੇ ਕਿਸੇ ਵੀ ਸਮਸਿਆਵਾਂ ਜਾਂ ਚਿੰਤਾਵਾਂ ਦੇ ਬਾਰੇ ਵਿੱਚ  
ਸੰਪਰਕ ਕਰ ਸੱਕਦੇ ਹੋ.

ਸਬਰਵਾਲ, ਪੰਜਾਬੀ ਸਿੱਖ ਵਿੱਚ ਧੀ ਉਪੇਕਸ਼ਾ ਅਤੇ ਪੁੱਤ ਪਸੰਦ  
ਉੱਤਰੀ ਕੈਲਿਫੋਰਨਿਆ ਦੇ ਬੇ ਏਰਿਆ ਵਿੱਚ ਆਪ੍ਰਵਾਸਿਆਂ

ਪੇਜ ੩ ਦੀ ੩

***Appendix C: Background Questionnaire for Husbands and Wives (ENGLISH)***

Principal Investigator: Kristin Mmari, DrPH  
Assistant Professor  
Department of Population, Family and  
Reproductive Health  
Johns Hopkins Bloomberg School of Public Health

Institution: Johns Hopkins Bloomberg School of Public Health

Study Title: An Exploration of Son Preference and Daughter Neglect among  
Punjabi Sikh Immigrants in the Northern California Bay Area

IRB No.: IRB00005008

PI Version Number/Date: Version 1, March 28, 2013

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4. Gender:    \_\_\_Male            \_\_\_Female (check one)

2. Age:            \_\_\_\_\_

3. Place of birth: \_\_\_\_\_  
(If U.S., proceed to #5)

4. Age of move to U.S.: \_\_\_\_\_

4a. Have you been living in the U.S. since then?        \_\_\_ Yes        \_\_\_ No

5. Why did you/your family relocate to the U.S.?

\_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

6. Age at time of marriage:        \_\_\_\_\_

6a. Location of marriage: \_\_\_\_\_

6b. Age difference between you and your spouse: \_\_\_\_\_

7. Highest level of education completed:

\_\_\_\_\_ High School  
\_\_\_\_\_ Some college  
\_\_\_\_\_ Undergraduate degree  
\_\_\_\_\_ Some graduate school  
\_\_\_\_\_ Graduate degree

8 Occupation: \_\_\_\_\_

9. Highest level of education completed by your spouse:

- ☐ High School
- ☐ Some college
- ☐ Undergraduate degree
- ☐ Some graduate school
- ☐ Graduate degree

10. Spouse's Occupation:

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11. Who are the other members of your household?

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12. How old are your children?

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Approved: April 11, 2013  
IRB No.: 5008

#### Appendix D: Background Questionnaire for Husbands and Wives (PUNJABI)

**Principal Investigator:** Kristin Mmari, DrPH  
Assistant Professor  
Department of Population, Family and  
Reproductive Health  
Johns Hopkins Bloomberg School of Public Health

**Institution:** Johns Hopkins Bloomberg School of Public Health

**Study Title:** An Exploration of Son Preference and Daughter Neglect among  
Punjabi Sikh Immigrants in the Northern California Bay Area

**IRB No.:** IRB00005008

**PI Version Number/Date:** Version 1, April 19, 2013

1. ਲਿੰਗ: \_\_\_\_ ਨਰ \_\_\_\_ ਤੀਵੀਂ (ਚੋਕ ਗਈ)

2. ਉਮਰ: \_\_\_\_\_

3. ਜਨਮ ਸਥਾਨ: \_\_\_\_\_  
(ਅਮਰੀਕਾ, #5 ਵਲੋਂ ਅੱਗੇ ਵੱਧਦੇ ਹਨ)

4. ਅਮਰੀਕਾ ਦੇ ਇਸ ਕਦਮ ਦੀ ਉਮਰ: \_\_\_\_\_

4a. ਤੁਸੀਂ ਉਦੋਂ ਤੋਂ ਅਮਰੀਕਾ ਵਿੱਚ ਰਹਿ ਰਹੇ ਹੋ? \_\_\_\_ ਹਾਂ \_\_\_\_ ਨਹੀਂ

5. ਕਿਉਂ ਤੁਸੀਂ / ਆਪਣੇ ਪਰਵਾਰ ਨੂੰ ਅਮਰੀਕਾ ਵਿੱਚ ਮੁੰਤਕਿਲ ਕੀਤਾ?

\_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

6. ਵਿਆਹ ਦੇ ਸਮੇਂ ਉਮਰ: \_\_\_\_\_

6a. ਵਿਆਹ ਦੇ ਸਥਾਨ: \_\_\_\_\_

ਸਬਰਵਾਲ, ਪੰਜਾਬੀ ਸਿੱਖ ਵਿੱਚ ਧੀ ਉਪੇਕਸ਼ਾ ਅਤੇ ਪੁੱਤ ਪਸੰਦ

ਉੱਤਰੀ ਕੈਲਿਫੋਰਨਿਆ ਦੇ ਬੇ ਏਰਿਆ ਵਿੱਚ ਆਪ੍ਰਵਾਸਿਆਂ

ਪੰਨਾ ੧ ਦੀ ੪



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6b. ਤੁਸੀਂ ਅਤੇ ਤੁਹਾਡੇ ਪਤੀ ਜਾਂ ਪਤਨੀ ਦੇ ਵਿੱਚ ਉਮਰ ਦਾ ਅੰਤਰ :

\_\_\_\_\_

7. ਸਿੱਖਿਆ ਦਾ ਉੱਚਤਮ ਪੱਧਰ ਪੂਰਾ :

\_\_\_\_\_ ਹਾਈ ਸਕੂਲ

\_\_\_\_\_ ਕੁੱਝ ਕਾਲਜ

\_\_\_\_\_ ਦਰਜੇਦਾਰ ਦੀ ਡਿਗਰੀ

\_\_\_\_\_ ਕੁੱਝ ਗਰੇਜੂਏਟ ਸਕੂਲ

\_\_\_\_\_ ਗਰੇਜੂਏਟ ਡਿਗਰੀ

8 ਬਾਐ : \_\_\_\_\_

9. ਆਪਣੇ ਪਤੀ ਵਲੋਂ ਪੂਰਾ ਸਿੱਖਿਆ ਦਾ ਉੱਚਤਮ ਪੱਧਰ :

\_\_\_\_\_ ਹਾਈ ਸਕੂਲ

\_\_\_\_\_ ਕੁੱਝ ਕਾਲਜ

\_\_\_\_\_ ਦਰਜੇਦਾਰ ਦੀ ਡਿਗਰੀ

\_\_\_\_\_ ਕੁੱਝ ਗਰੇਜੂਏਟ ਸਕੂਲ

\_\_\_\_\_ ਗਰੇਜੂਏਟ ਡਿਗਰੀ

10. ਪਤੀ ਜਾਂ ਪਤਨੀ ਦਾ ਪੇਸ਼ਾ : \_\_\_\_\_

11. ਆਪਣੇ ਘਰ ਦੇ ਹੋਰ ਮੈਂਬਰ ਕੌਣ ਹਨ ?

\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_

ਸਬਰਵਾਲ, ਪੰਜਾਬੀ ਸਿੱਖ ਵਿੱਚ ਧੀ ਉਪੇਕਸ਼ਾ ਅਤੇ ਪੁੱਤ ਪਸੰਦ  
ਉੱਤਰੀ ਕੈਲਿਫੋਰਨਿਆ ਦੇ ਬੇ ਏਰਿਆ ਵਿੱਚ ਆਪ੍ਰਵਾਸਿਆਂ

ਪੇਜ 2 ਦੀ 8





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12. ਤੁਵਾਡੇ ਬਚੇ ਕਿਨੇ ਸਾਲ ਦੇ ਹਨ ?

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ਅਦਵਿਤੀਏ ਪੜ੍ਹਾਈ ਆਈਡੀ : \_\_\_\_\_

ਸਬਰਵਾਲ, ਪੰਜਾਬੀ ਸਿੱਖ ਵਿੱਚ ਧੀ ਉਪੇਕਸ਼ਾ ਅਤੇ ਪੁੱਤ ਪਸੰਦ  
ਉੱਤਰੀ ਕੈਲਿਫੋਰਨਿਆ ਦੇ ਬੇ ਏਰਿਆ ਵਿੱਚ ਆਪ੍ਰਵਾਸਿਆਂ

ਪੇਜ 3 ਦੀ 8



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ਨਾਮ: \_\_\_\_\_

ਤੁਹਾਡੇ ਲਈ ਇਸ ਸਾਕਸ਼ਾਤਕਾਰ ਵਿਚ ਭਾਗ ਲੈਣ ਲਈ ਸਭਤੋਂ ਸੁਵਿਧਾਜਨਕ ਤਾਰੀਖ, ਸਮਾਂ, ਅਤੇ ਸਥਾਨ ਕੀ ਹੈ?

\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_

(ਕੇਵਲ ਸਾਕਸ਼ਾਤਕਾਰ ਦੀ ਤਾਰੀਖ, ਸਮਾਂ ਅਤੇ ਸਥਾਨ ਦੀ ਪੁਸ਼ਟੀ ਕਰਨ ਦੇ ਲਈ) ਤੁਸੀਂ ਤੱਕ ਪਹੁੰਚਣ ਦੇ ਲਈ, ਜਿਸ ਉੱਤੇ ਸਭਤੋਂ ਅੱਛਾ ਫੋਨ ਨੰਬਰ ਅਤੇ / ਜਾਂ ਈਮੇਲ ਪਤਾ ਕੀ ਹੈ?

\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_

ਅਦਵਿਤੀਏ ਪੜ੍ਹਾਈ ਆਈਡੀ : \_\_\_\_\_ (ਪਿਛਲੇ ਵਰਕੇ ਵਲੋਂ)

ਸਬਰਵਾਲ, ਪੰਜਾਬੀ ਸਿੱਖ ਵਿੱਚ ਧੀ ਉਪੇਕਸ਼ਾ ਅਤੇ ਪੁੱਤ ਪਸੰਦ  
ਉੱਤਰੀ ਕੈਲਿਫੋਰਨਿਆ ਦੇ ਬੇ ਏਰਿਆ ਵਿੱਚ ਆਪ੍ਰਵਾਸਿਆਂ

ਪੇਜ 8 ਦੀ 8

***Appendix E: Background Questionnaire for Sons and Daughters***

Principal Investigator: Kristin Mmari, DrPH  
Assistant Professor  
Department of Population, Family and  
Reproductive Health  
Johns Hopkins Bloomberg School of Public Health

Institution: Johns Hopkins Bloomberg School of Public Health

Study Title: An Exploration of Son Preference and Daughter Neglect among  
Punjabi Sikh Immigrants in the Northern California Bay Area

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5. Gender:    ☐ Male            ☐ Female (check one)

2. Age:                    \_\_\_\_\_

3. Place of birth: \_\_\_\_\_  
(If U.S., proceed to #5)

4. Age of move to U.S. \_\_\_\_\_

4a. Have you been living in the U.S. since then?    ☐ Yes    ☐ No

5. Why did your family relocate to the U.S.?

\_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

6. Highest level of education completed:

\_\_\_\_\_ High School

\_\_\_\_\_ Some college

\_\_\_\_\_ Undergraduate degree

\_\_\_\_\_ Some graduate school

\_\_\_\_\_ Graduate degree

7. Occupation: \_\_\_\_\_

8. Highest level of education completed by your mother:

\_\_\_\_\_ High School

\_\_\_\_\_ Some college

\_\_\_\_\_ Undergraduate degree

\_\_\_\_\_ Some graduate school

\_\_\_\_\_ Graduate degree

9. Mother's Occupation:

\_\_\_\_\_

10. Highest level of education completed by your father:

\_\_\_\_\_ High School

\_\_\_\_\_ Some college

\_\_\_\_\_ Undergraduate degree

\_\_\_\_\_ Some graduate school

\_\_\_\_\_ Graduate degree

11. Father's Occupation:

\_\_\_\_\_

12. Who lived in your home with you while you were growing up?

\_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

13. How old is (are) your sibling(s)?

\_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

Unique Study ID: \_\_\_\_\_

***Appendix F: Oral Consent for In-Depth Interview (ENGLISH)***

<u>Principal Investigator:</u>	Kristin Mmari, DrPH Assistant Professor Department of Population, Family and Reproductive Health Johns Hopkins Bloomberg School of Public Health
<u>Institution:</u>	Johns Hopkins Bloomberg School of Public Health
<u>Study Title:</u>	An Exploration of Son Preference and Daughter Neglect among Punjabi Sikh Immigrants in the Northern California Bay Area
<u>IRB No.:</u>	IRB00005008
<u>PI Version Number/Date:</u>	Version 2, October 2, 2013

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As mentioned when we last met, this study hopes to better understand family dynamics and possible differences in the ways Indian immigrant parents raise boys and girls within the family. You have been selected because you are a member of the Punjabi Sikh immigrant community and we would like to hear your thoughts and perspectives. If you agree to participate, we will continue with the interview.

Because we want to hear everything you have to say, we will digitally record your interview, but only people who work on this project will hear the recording and you will not be identified by name. At the end of the study, all recordings will be destroyed. Only people who work on this project will be able to see the transcript of your interview, but your name will not be at all linked with the transcript. The interview will last between 30 and 60 minutes. If you are uncomfortable answering any of questions, you can choose not to answer or can stop at any time.

**This is a minimal level risk study. We have a number of steps in place to make sure individuals outside the research team will not know what you said during the interview, including not asking any personal identifying information during the actual interview, and if any personal identifying information does get discussed, it will be deleted in the transcripts. The digital recordings will be kept in a secure location and will be destroyed after the data has been analyzed.**

**There is no direct benefit to you by participating in this study but your perspectives will help us and other professionals better understand the health and wellbeing needs of Indians in this community. Your participation in this study is completely voluntary. That means that you may choose not to be interviewed and if you choose not to participate, it will not be held against you in any way.**

If you complete both the background questions and interview, you will receive a \$10 gift card to Target or Starbucks.

Would you be willing to participate in the interview?

Is it okay to audio record the interview?

Do you have any questions for me before we begin?

Thank you very much for your time and willingness to participate!

Please feel free to contact me at (408) 425-4282 or by email at [simran3@gmail.com](mailto:simran3@gmail.com) if you have any questions or concerns after the interview is over.

You may also contact the Johns Hopkins School of Public Health Institutional Review Board, which approved this study, about any problems or concerns at (410) 955-3193 or 1-888-262-3242.

Approval date:

Approved consent IRB version No.:

### Appendix G: Oral Consent for In-Depth Interview (PUNJABI)

**Principal Investigator:** Kristin Mmari, DrPH  
Assistant Professor  
Department of Population, Family and Reproductive Health  
Johns Hopkins Bloomberg School of Public Health

**Institution:** Johns Hopkins Bloomberg School of Public Health

**Study Title:** An Exploration of Son Preference and Daughter Neglect among Punjabi Sikh Immigrants in the Northern California Bay Area

**IRB No.:** IRB00005008

**PI Version Number/Date:** Version 2, October 2, 2013

ਪਿਛਲੇ ਮੁਲਾਕਾਤ ਦੇ ਦੌਰਾਨ ਇਹ ਕਿਹਾ ਗਿਆ ਸੀ, ਇਸ ਪੜ੍ਹਾਈ ਵੀ ਭਾਰਤੀ ਆਪ੍ਰਵਾਸੀ ਮਾਤਾ ਪਿਤਾ ਦੇ ਪਰਵਾਰ ਦੇ ਅੰਦਰ ਮੁੰਡੀਆਂ ਅਤੇ ਲੜਕੀਆਂ ਨੂੰ ਵਧਾਉਣ ਦੇ ਤਰੀਕਾਂ ਵਿੱਚ ਪਰਵਾਰ ਦੀ ਗਤੀਸ਼ੀਲਤਾ ਅਤੇ ਸੰਭਵ ਅੰਤਰ ਨੂੰ ਸਮਝਣ ਦੀ ਉਮੀਦ ਹੈ। ਤੁਸੀਂ ਇਸ ਲਈ ਚੁਣੇ ਗਏ ਹੋ ਕਿਉਂਕਿ ਪੰਜਾਬੀ ਸਿੱਖ ਆਪ੍ਰਵਾਸੀ ਸਮੁਦਾਏ ਦੀ ਤੁਸੀਂ ਇੱਕ ਮੈਂਬਰ ਹੋ ਅਤੇ ਤੁਸੀਂ ਆਪਣੇ ਵਿਚਾਰ ਅਤੇ ਦ੍ਰਿਸ਼ਟੀਕੋਣ ਸਾਡੇ ਨਾਲ ਸਾਂਝੇ ਕਰਨਾ ਪਸੰਦ ਕਰੋਗੇ। ਤੁਸੀਂ ਭਾਗ ਲੈਣ ਲਈ ਸਹਿਮਤ ਹੋ, ਤਾਂ ਇਹ ਸਾਕਸ਼ਾਤਕਾਰ ਜਾਰੀ ਰਹੇਗਾ।

ਤੁਸੀਂ ਜੋ ਕਹਿਣਾ ਹੈ ਅਸੀਂ ਸਭ ਸੁਣਨਾ ਚਾਹੁੰਦੇ ਹਾਂ, ਇਸਲਈ ਅਸੀਂ ਸਾਕਸ਼ਾਤਕਾਰ ਡਿਜ਼ਿਟਲੀ ਰਿਕਾਰਡ ਹੋਵੇਗਾ, ਲੇਕਿਨ ਕੇਵਲ ਇਸ ਪਰਯੋਜਨਾ ਉੱਤੇ ਕੰਮ ਕਰਣ ਵਾਲੇ ਲੋਕ ਹੀ ਰਿਕਾਰਡਿੰਗ ਸੁਣਨਗੇ, ਅਤੇ ਤੁਹਾਡੇ ਨਾਮ ਦੀ ਪਹਿਚਾਣ ਨਹੀਂ ਕੀਤੀ ਜਾਵੇਗੀ। ਪੜ੍ਹਾਈ ਦੇ ਅੰਤ ਵਿੱਚ, ਸਾਰੇ ਰਿਕਾਰਡਿੰਗ ਨਸ਼ਟ ਹੋ ਜਾਣਗੇ। ਕੇਵਲ ਇਸ ਪਰਯੋਜਨਾ ਉੱਤੇ ਕੰਮ ਕਰਣ ਵਾਲੇ ਲੋਕਾਂ ਨੂੰ ਆਪਣੇ ਸਾਕਸ਼ਾਤਕਾਰ ਦੀ ਨਕਲ ਨੂੰ ਦੇਖਣ ਲਈ ਸਮਰੱਥਾਵਾਂ ਹੋਵੇਗਾ, ਲੇਕਿਨ ਤੁਹਾਡਾ ਨਾਮ ਪ੍ਰਤੀਲੇਖ ਦੇ ਨਾਲ ਨਹੀਂ ਜੋੜਿਆ ਜਾਵੇਗਾ। ਸਾਕਸ਼ਾਤਕਾਰ 30 ਅਤੇ 60 ਮਿੰਟ ਦਾ ਹੋਵੇਗਾ। ਤੁਸੀਂ ਕਿਸੇ ਵੀ ਸਵਾਲ ਦਾ ਜਵਾਬ ਦੇਣ ਵਾਲੇ ਅਸਹਜ ਮਹਿਸੂਸ ਕਰ ਰਹੇ ਹੋ, ਤਾਂ ਤੁਸੀਂ ਜਵਾਬ ਨਾਂ ਦੇਣਾ ਚੁਨ ਸਕਦੇ ਹੋ ਜਾਂ ਕਿਸੇ ਵੀ ਸਮਾਂ ਬੰਦ ਕਰ ਸਕਦੇ ਹੋ।

ਇਹ ਇੱਕ ਹੇਠਲਾ ਪੱਧਰ ਜੋਖਮ ਦੀ ਪੜ੍ਹਾਈ ਹੈ। ਅਸੀਂ ਬਹੁਤ ਸਾਰੇ ਕਦਮ ਚੁਕੇ ਹਨ ਜੋ ਕੀ ਤੁਹਾਡੀ ਵਿਅਕਤੀਗਤ ਪਹਿਚਾਣ ਜਾਂ ਸਾਕਸ਼ਾਤਕਾਰ ਦੀ ਜਾਣਕਾਰੀ ਕਿਸੇ ਨੂੰ ਨਾਂ ਦੱਸੀ ਜਾਵੇ। ਡਿਜ਼ਿਟਲ ਰਿਕਾਰਡਿੰਗ ਇੱਕ ਸੁਰੱਖਿਅਤ ਸਥਾਨ ਵਿੱਚ ਰੱਖਿਆ ਜਾਵੇਗਾ ਅਤੇ ਡੇਟਾ ਦੇ ਵਿਸ਼ਲੇਸ਼ਣ ਦੇ ਬਾਅਦ ਨਸ਼ਟ ਕਰ ਦਿੱਤਾ ਜਾਵੇਗਾ।

ਸਬਰਵਾਲ, ਪੰਜਾਬੀ ਸਿੱਖ ਵਿੱਚ ਧੀ ਉਪੇਕਸ਼ਾ ਅਤੇ ਪੁੱਤ ਪਸੰਦ

ਉੱਤਰੀ ਕੈਲਿਫੋਰਨੀਆ ਦੇ ਬੇ ਏਰਿਆ ਵਿੱਚ ਆਪ੍ਰਵਾਸੀਆਂ

IRB00005008

ਪੇਜ ੧ ਦੀ ੨

Approval date:

Approved consent IRB version No.:

ਇਸ ਪੜ੍ਹਾਈ ਵਿੱਚ ਭਾਗ ਲੈਣ ਵਾਲੇ ਤੁਹਾਡੇ ਲਈ ਕੋਈ ਪ੍ਰਤੱਖ ਮੁਨਾਫ਼ਾ ਨਹੀਂ ਹੈ, ਲੇਕਿਨ ਆਪਣੇ ਦ੍ਰਿਸ਼ਟਿਕੋਣ ਸਾਨੂੰ ਅਤੇ ਹੋਰ ਪੇਸ਼ੇਵਰਾਂ ਲਈ ਬਿਹਤਰ ਹੈ ਇਸ ਸਮੁਦਾਏ ਵਿੱਚ ਭਾਰਤੀਆਂ ਦੇ ਸਿਹਤ ਅਤੇ ਭਲਾਈ ਜਰੂਰਤਾਂ ਨੂੰ ਸਮਝਣ ਵਿੱਚ ਮਦਦ ਮਿਲੇਗੀ। ਇਸ ਪੜ੍ਹਾਈ ਵਿੱਚ ਤੁਹਾਡੀ ਭਾਗੀਦਾਰੀ ਪੂਰੀ ਤਰ੍ਹਾਂ ਸਵੈਵਿਭਿੰਨ ਹੈ। ਇਸਦਾ ਮਤਲੱਬ ਹੈ ਕਿ ਸਾਕਸ਼ਾਤਕਾਰ ਦੇ ਵੇਲੇ ਕਿਸੀ ਵੀ ਵਕਤ ਤੁਸੀਂ ਭਾਗ ਲੈਣ ਤੋਂ ਮਨਾ ਕਰ ਸਕਦੇ ਹੋ, ਅਗਰ ਤੁਸੀਂ ਭਾਗ ਨਹੀਂ ਲੈਣਾ ਚਾਹੁੰਦੇ, ਤਾਂ ਇਹ ਕਿਸੇ ਵੀ ਤਰ੍ਹਾਂ ਵਲੋਂ ਤੁਹਾਡੇ ਖਿਲਾਫ਼ ਆਜੇਜ਼ਿਤ ਨਹੀਂ ਕੀਤਾ ਜਾਵੇਗਾ।

ਇਸ ਪੜ੍ਹਾਈ ਵਿੱਚ ਹਿੱਸਾ ਲੈਣ ਲਈ ਤੁਹਾਨੂੰ \$੧੦ ਦਾ “ਟਾਰਗਟ” ਜਾਂ “ਸਟਾਰਬਕਸ” ਦਾ ਉਪਹਾਰ ਕਾਰਡ ਦਿੱਤਾ ਜਾਵੇਗਾ।

ਤੁਸੀਂ ਸਾਕਸ਼ਾਤਕਾਰ ਵਿੱਚ ਭਾਗ ਲੈਣ ਲਈ ਤਿਆਰ ਹੋ?

ਕੀ ਇਹ ਅਭਿਆਸ ਰਿਕਾਰਡ ਸਾਕਸ਼ਾਤਕਾਰ ਲਈ ਠੀਕ ਹੈ ?

ਤੁਹਾਡਾ ਮੇਰੇ ਲਈ ਕੋਈ ਸਵਾਲ ਹੈ?

ਆਪਣੇ ਸਮਾਂ ਅਤੇ ਭਾਗ ਲੈਣ ਦੀ ਇੱਛਾ ਲਈ ਬਹੁਤ ਬਹੁਤ ਧੰਨਵਾਦ !

ਸਾਕਸ਼ਾਤਕਾਰ ਖ਼ਤਮ ਹੋਣ ਦੇ ਬਾਅਦ ਜੇਕਰ ਤੁਹਾਨੂੰ ਕੋਈ ਪ੍ਰਸ਼ਨ ਜਾਂ ਚਿੰਤਾ ਹੈ ਤੇ ਤੁਸੀਂ ਆਜ਼ਾਦੀ ਨਾਲ ਇਸ ਈਮੇਲ ਤੇ ਫ਼ੋਨ ਦੇ ਦੁਆਰੇ ਮੈਨੂੰ ਸੰਪਰਕ ਕਰ ਸਕਦੇ ਹੋ: simran3@gmail.com ਉੱਤੇ (੪੦੮) ੪੨੫-੪੨੮੨.

ਤੁਸੀਂ ਇਸ (੪੧੦) ੯੫੫-੩੧੯੩ ਜਾਂ ੧-੮੮੮-੨੬੨-੩੨੪੨ ਫ਼ੋਨ ਨੰਬਰ ਉੱਤੇ ਕਿਸੇ ਵੀ ਸਮਸਿਆਵਾਂ ਜਾਂ ਚਿੰਤਾਵਾਂ ਦੇ ਬਾਰੇ ਵਿੱਚ ਸੰਪਰਕ ਕਰ ਸਕਦੇ ਹੋ.

ਸਬਰਵਾਲ, ਪੰਜਾਬੀ ਸਿੱਖ ਵਿੱਚ ਧੀ ਉਪੇਕਸ਼ਾ ਅਤੇ ਪੁੱਤ ਪਸੰਦ  
ਉੱਤਰੀ ਕੈਲਿਫ਼ੋਰਨਿਆ ਦੇ ਬੇ ਏਰਿਆ ਵਿੱਚ ਆਪ੍ਰਵਾਸਿਆਂ  
IRB00005008

ਪੇਜ ੨ ਦੀ ੨



## ***Appendix H: Interview Guide for Husbands and Wives (ENGLISH)***

Principal Investigator: Kristin Mmari, DrPH  
Assistant Professor  
Department of Population, Family and  
Reproductive Health  
Johns Hopkins Bloomberg School of Public Health

Institution: Johns Hopkins Bloomberg School of Public Health

Study Title: An Exploration of Son Preference and Daughter Neglect among  
Punjabi Sikh Immigrants in the Northern California Bay Area

IRB No.: IRB00005008

PI Version Number/Date: Version 1, March 28, 2013

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### **Background and Family Life**

1. What part of India are you from?
2. Why did your family relocate to the U.S.?
3. How would you describe your experience in the United States so far?
  - 3a. How does your experience in the United States so far impact the way you feel about yourself and your family life?  
(Probes: What has it been like to raise a family here in the U.S.?  
How do you think the experience of raising your family would have been different if you had not moved to the U.S.?  
What differences do you notice between how you were raised in India and how you raised your family here?)
4. How have you changed as a result of living in the United States?
  - 4a. How have your cultural beliefs changed as a result of living in the U.S.?
5. Does your family identify with a certain caste? Why or why not?
6. How many children did you want before you started a family? Your spouse?
  - 6a. How many sons and how many daughters did you ideally want? Your spouse?
7. What is your role in your family?
  - 7a. What is your spouse's role?
8. How were decisions made about how your family spends money on food and clothing? On larger investments (i.e. buying a car or house, or a household appliance)?
9. What do you/ did you do with your family on the weekends?
  - 9a. How often do/did your family visit the temple over the course of a month? What other places or events did/do you usually attend as a family?

10. To what extent do you feel you have control over the outcomes of family situations you encounter in the United States? How do you think this would have been different if your family had not moved to the U.S.?

### **Children**

11. *(Question to wives only)* Were your children breastfed? If yes, for how long/ until what age was each child breastfed?
12. What extracurricular activities did your daughter(s) participate in?
13. What extracurricular activities did your son(s) participate in?
14. What did your son(s) do after school when he got home?
15. What did your daughter(s) do after school when she got home?
16. What kinds of games did your kids play with each other?
- 16a. How did they tease each other? What did you think of that?
17. When your son did something wrong, what would happen/ how was he reprimanded?
- 17a. When your daughter did something wrong, what would happen/ how was she punished?
18. How did you expect your children to help you around the house?
- 18a. What chores did your son help with? What chores did your daughter help with?
19. What is the significance of a son in your life? In your family?
20. What is the significance of a daughter in your life? In your family?
21. *(Question to husbands)* How did having a daughter change your perception of women?  
*(Question to wives)* How did having a daughter change your husband?

### **Vignettes**

22. These are some situations that professionals who work with the community have shared:
- A. *Sometimes, mother-in-laws (dadi) give more food to their grandsons than to their granddaughters. When grandsons return from school or from playing with their friends, dadis always offer them sweets and tea, and allow them to sit down for meals first so by the time their granddaughter eats, there isn't enough food left. When her daughter-in-law tries to say something to object, the mother-in-law doesn't let her talk.*

#### **What do you think of this?**

##### **(Probes:**

Have you ever heard of this happening here?

How common do you think this is in families here? What about in India?

How do you feel about this? How do you think your spouse would feel about this?)

- B. *Simranjeet is 12 years old. He slacks off at school and barely passes his classes while his older sister who is 15 years old studies very hard and does well. His parents never get upset at him but when his sister gets anything lower than an A grade, she is yelled at and called very bad names. Their father says that he will gladly pay for his son to go to college wherever he wants but if she wants to study, she needs to get scholarships to pay for all four years and she can't go far from home.*

**What do you think of this?**

(Probes:

Have you ever heard of this happening here?

How common do you think this is in families here? What about in India?

How do you feel about this? How do you think your spouse would feel about this?)

- C. *Jaspreet lived with her parents and one older brother. Her father sometimes drank when he came home from work and then hit her mom and her, and also called them very bad words. Sometimes, Jaspreet's brother hit her too and her parents allowed this. She told a counselor at school and then was taken out of her home and sent to live with another Sikh family. Her parents found out who that family was and told them their daughter always misbehaved so her new family also started abusing her.*

**What do you think of this?**

(Probes:

Have you ever heard of this happening here?

How common do you think this is in families here? What about in India?

How do you feel about this? How do you think your spouse would feel about this?)

- D. *Gurinder and Aman have two daughters and one son. Their older daughter is 20 years old and they are starting to think about her marriage. She lives at home, is a student at the local community college, and does well in her studies but many families of the prospective boys they meet ask why she needs to study, whether she can cook a proper meal and clean, and whether her parents will provide the dowry they are asking for. Her parents are thinking of pulling her out of her classes to focus on marriage prospects.*

**What do you think of this?**

(Probes:

Have you ever heard of this happening here?

How common do you think this is in families here? What about in India?

How do you feel about this? How do you think your spouse would feel about this?)

- E. *Harleen and Manik live with their parents in Fremont. Both their parents work two jobs each to make ends meet and often come home very tired in the evenings. Sometimes Harleen and Manik can hear them fighting loudly late at night and even hear their mother get slapped. The morning after these arguments, their mother often yells at Harleen while she is getting ready for school, tells her how fat and ugly she is, and how no one will marry her. Sometimes, their mother even hits Harleen.*

**What do you think of this?**

(Probes:

Have you ever heard of this happening here?

How common do you think this is in families here? What about in India?

How do you feel about this? How do you think your spouse would feel about this?)

Approval date:

Approved consent IRB version No.:

### Appendix I: Interview Guide for Husbands and Wives (PUNJABI)

Principal Investigator: Kristin Mmari, DrPH  
Assistant Professor  
Department of Population, Family and Reproductive Health  
Johns Hopkins Bloomberg School of Public Health

Institution: Johns Hopkins Bloomberg School of Public Health

Study Title: An Exploration of Son Preference and Daughter Neglect among  
Punjabi Sikh Immigrants in the Northern California Bay Area

IRB No.: IRB00005008

PI Version Number/Date: Version 1, April 19, 2013

#### ਪ੍ਰਸ਼ਨਭੂਮੀ ਅਤੇ ਪਰਵਾਰਿਕ ਜੀਵਨ

1. ਤੁਸੀਂ ਭਾਰਤ ਦੇ ਕਿਸ ਹਿੱਸੇ ਵਲੋਂ ਹੋ ?
2. ਤੁਸੀਂ ਕਿਉਂ ਆਪਣੇ ਪਰਵਾਰ ਨੂੰ ਅਮਰੀਕਾ ਵਿੱਚ ਮੁੰਤਕਿਲ ਕੀਤਾ ?
3. ਹੁਣ ਤੱਕ ਸੰਯੁਕਤ ਰਾਜ ਅਮਰੀਕਾ ਵਿੱਚ ਰਹਨ ਦੇ ਅਨੁਭਵ ਦਾ ਵਰਣਨ ਕਰੋ?
- 3a. ਤੁਵਾਡੇ ਅਮਰੀਕਾ ਵਿੱਚ ਰਹਨ ਦੇ ਅਨੁਭਵ ਨੇ ਤੁਵਾਨੂੰ ਅਤੇ ਤੁਵਾਡੇ ਪਰਵਾਰ ਨੂੰ ਕਿਸ ਤਰੀਕੇ ਨਾਲ ਪ੍ਰਭਾਵੀਤ ਕੀਤਾ ਹੈ?
- (ਜਾਂਚ : ਕੀ ਇਹ ਅਮਰੀਕਾ ਵਿੱਚ ਇੱਥੇ ਇੱਕ ਪਰਵਾਰ ਨੂੰ ਵਧਾਉਣ ਦੀ ਤਰ੍ਹਾਂ ਕੀਤਾ ਗਿਆ ਹੈ ?
- ਤੁਸੀਂ ਕਿਵੇਂ ਤੁਸੀਂ ਅਮਰੀਕਾ ਲਈ ਮੁੰਤਕਿਲ ਨਹੀਂ ਕੀਤਾ ਸੀ ਤਾਂ ਆਪਣੇ ਪਰਵਾਰ ਦੀ ਪਰਵਰਿਸ਼ ਦਾ ਅਨੁਭਵ ਵੱਖ ਹੁੰਦਾ ਲੱਗਦਾ ਹੈ ?
- ਤੁਸੀਂ ਜੇਕਰ ਤੁਸੀਂ ਇੱਥੇ ਆਪਣੇ ਪਰਵਾਰ ਨੂੰ ਚੁੱਕਿਆ ਕਿ ਕਿਵੇਂ ਭਾਰਤ ਵਿੱਚ ਚੁੱਕੇ ਗਏ ਸਨ ਅਤੇ ਕਿਵੇਂ ਦੇ ਵਿੱਚ ਕੀ ਅੰਤਰ ਨੋਟਿਸ ਕਰਦੇ ਹੋ ? )
4. ਕਿਵੇਂ ਤੁਸੀਂ ਸੰਯੁਕਤ ਰਾਜ ਅਮਰੀਕਾ ਵਿੱਚ ਰਹਿਣ ਦਾ ਇੱਕ ਨਤੀਜੇ ਦੇ ਰੂਪ ਵਿੱਚ ਬਦਲ ਗਿਆ ਹੈ ?
- 4 ਏ . ਕਿਵੇਂ ਆਪਣੀ ਸਾਂਸਕ੍ਰਿਤੀਕ ਮਾਨਤਾਵਾਂ ਅਮਰੀਕਾ ਵਿੱਚ ਰਹਿਣ ਦਾ ਇੱਕ ਨਤੀਜੇ ਦੇ ਰੂਪ ਵਿੱਚ ਬਦਲ ਗਿਆ ਹੈ ?

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5. **ਕੀ ਤੁਸੀਂ** ਆਪਣੇ ਪਰਵਾਰ ਦੇ ਇੱਕ ਖਾਸ ਜਾਤੀ ਦੇ ਨਾਲ ਪਹਿਚਾਣ ਕਰਦੇ ਹੋ? ਕਿਉਂ ਜਾਂ ਕਿਉਂ ਨਹੀਂ?
6. ਤੁਸੀਂ ਇੱਕ ਪਰਵਾਰ ਸ਼ੁਰੂ ਕਰਣ ਵਲੋਂ ਪਹਿਲਾਂ ਤੁਸੀਂ ਕਿੰਨੇ ਬੱਚੇ ਚਾਹੁੰਦੇ ਸੀ? ਤੁਹਾਡੇ ਪਤੀ?
- 6a. ਕਿੰਨੇ ਬੇਟੇ ਅਤੇ ਕਿੰਨੀਆਂ ਬੇਟੀਆਂ ਚਾਹੁੰਦੇ ਸੋ? ਤੁਹਾਡੇ ਪਤੀ?
7. ਤੁਹਾਡੇ ਪਰਵਾਰ ਵਿੱਚ ਤੁਹਾਡੀ ਕੀ ਭੂਮਿਕਾ ਹੈ?
- 7a. ਆਪਣੇ ਪਤੀ ਦੀ ਭੂਮਿਕਾ ਕੀ ਹੈ?
8. **ਤੁਹਾਡੇ ਪਰਵਾਰ ਵਿੱਚ** ਭੋਜਨ ਅਤੇ ਕੱਪੜੀਆਂ ਉੱਤੇ ਪੈਸੇ ਖਰਚ ਕਰਨ ਦਾ ਫੈਸਲਾ ਕੌਣ ਕਰਦਾ ਵਿੱਚ? ਵੱਡੇ ਨਿਵੇਸ਼ ਵਿੱਚ (ਯਾਨੀ ਇੱਕ ਕਾਰ ਜਾਂ ਘਰ, ਜਾਂ ਇੱਕ ਘਰ ਦੇ ਸਮੱਗਰੀ ਖਰੀਦਣ)?
9. ਤੂੰ / ਤੁਸੀਂ ਸਪਤਾਹਾਂਤ ਉੱਤੇ ਆਪਣੇ ਪਰਵਾਰ ਦੇ ਨਾਲ ਕੀ ਕੀਤਾ ਹੈ?
- 9a. ਕਿੰਨੀਆਂ ਹੀ ਵਾਰ / ਆਪਣੇ ਪਰਵਾਰ ਦੇ ਇੱਕ ਮਹੀਨੇ ਦੇ ਕੋਰਸ ਉੱਤੇ ਮੰਦਿਰ ਦਾ ਦੌਰਾ ਕੀਤਾ ਹੈ? ਕੀ ਹੋਰ ਸਥਾਨਾਂ ਜਾਂ ਘਟਨਾਵਾਂ / ਤੁਸੀਂ ਆਮਤੌਰ ਉੱਤੇ ਇੱਕ ਪਰਵਾਰ ਦੇ ਰੂਪ ਵਿੱਚ ਭਾਗ ਲੈਣ ਲਈ ਕੀ ਕੀਤਾ?
10. ਤੁਸੀਂ ਜੇਕਰ ਤੁਸੀਂ ਸੰਯੁਕਤ ਰਾਜ ਅਮਰੀਕਾ ਵਿੱਚ ਮੁੱਠਭੇੜ ਪਰਵਾਰ ਹਲਾਤਾਂ ਦੇ ਨਤੀਜੀਆਂ ਉੱਤੇ ਕਾਬੂ ਕਿਸ ਹੱਦ ਤੱਕ ਮਹਿਸੂਸ ਹੋ ਰਿਹਾ ਹੈ ਕਰਣ ਦੇ ਲਈ? ਤੁਸੀਂ ਆਪਣੇ ਪਰਵਾਰ ਨੂੰ ਅਮਰੀਕਾ ਵਿੱਚ ਮੁੰਤਕਿਲ ਨਹੀਂ ਕੀਤਾ ਸੀ ਜੇਕਰ ਇਹ ਇਹ ਵੱਖ ਹੁੰਦਾ ਹੈ ਕੀ ਲੱਗਦਾ ਹੈ?

### ਬੱਚੇ

11. (ਕੇਵਲ ਪਤਨੀਆਂ ਲਈ ਪ੍ਰਸ਼ਨ) **ਕੀ ਤੁਸੀਂ** ਆਪਣੇ ਬੱਚੀਆਂ ਨੂੰ ਸਤਨਪਾਨ ਕਰਾਯਾ ਸੀ? ਜੇਕਰ ਹਾਂ, ਤਾਂ ਕੀ ਸੀ ਉਮਰ ਦੇ ਹਰ ਇੱਕ ਬੱਚੇ ਨੂੰ ਸਤਨਪਾਨ ਕਿੰਨੀ ਦੇਰ ਤੱਕ / ਜਦੋਂ ਤੱਕ ਦੇ ਲਈ?
12. **ਤੁਸੀਂ** ਆਪਣੀ ਧੀ ਦੀ ਕੀ ਗਤੀਵਿਧੀਆਂ ਵਿੱਚ ਭਾਗ ਲੈਂਦੇ ਹੋ/ਸਨ?
13. **ਤੁਸੀਂ** ਆਪਣੇ ਬੇਟੇ ਦੀ ਕੀ ਗਤੀਵਿਧੀਆਂ ਵਿੱਚ ਭਾਗ ਲੈਂਦੇ ਹੋ/ਸਨ?
14. **ਬੇਟਾ ਜਦੋਂ ਸਕੂਲ ਬਾਦ** ਘਰ ਗਿਆ ਤੇ ਕੀ ਕੀਤਾ?
15. **ਧੀ ਸਕੂਲ ਬਾਅਦ ਘਰ ਗਿਆ** ਤੇ ਕੀ ਕੀਤਾ?

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16. ਖੇਲ ਦੇ ਪ੍ਰਕਾਰ ਆਪਣੇ ਬੱਚੀਆਂ ਨੂੰ ਇੱਕ ਦੂੱਜੇ ਦੇ ਨਾਲ ਖੇਡਣ ਲਈ ਕੀ ਕੀਤਾ ?
- 16a. ਕਿਵੇਂ ਉਹ ਇੱਕ ਦੂੱਜੇ ਨੂੰ ਤੰਗ ਕੀਤਾ ? ਤੁਸੀਂ ਇਸ ਗੱਲ ਦਾ ਕੀ ਸੋਚਦੇ ਹੋ ?
17. ਆਪਣੇ ਬੇਟੇ ਨੂੰ ਗਲਤ ਕੁੱਝ ਕੀਤਾ ਸੀ, ਕੀ ਉਹ ਕਿਵੇਂ ਝਿੜਕਿਆ ਸੀ / ਕੀ ਹੋਵੇਗਾ ?
- 17a. ਆਪਣੀ ਧੀ ਕੁੱਝ ਗਲਤ ਕੀਤਾ ਸੀ, ਕੀ ਹੋਵੇਗਾ / ਉਹ ਕਿਵੇਂ ਦੰਡਤ ਕੀਤਾ ਗਿਆ ਸੀ ?
18. ਕਿਵੇਂ ਤੁਸੀਂ ਆਪਣੇ ਬੱਚੀਆਂ ਨੂੰ ਘਰ ਦੇ ਆਸਪਾਸ ਤੁਸੀਂ ਮਦਦ ਕਰਣ ਲਈ ਉੱਮੀਦ ਹੈ ?
- 18a. ਆਪਣੇ ਬੇਟੇ ਨੂੰ ਕੀ ਕੰਮ ਦੇ ਨਾਲ ਮਦਦ ਕੀਤੀ ਸੀ ? ਤੁਹਾਡੀ ਧੀ ਕੀ ਕੰਮ ਦੇ ਨਾਲ ਮਦਦ ਕੀਤੀ ਸੀ ?
19. ਆਪਣੇ ਜੀਵਨ ਵਿੱਚ ਇੱਕ ਬੇਟੇ ਦਾ ਕੀ ਮਹੱਤਵ ਹੈ ? ਤੁਹਾਡੇ ਪਰਵਾਰ ਵਿੱਚ ?
20. ਆਪਣੇ ਜੀਵਨ ਵਿੱਚ ਇੱਕ ਧੀ ਦਾ ਕੀ ਮਹੱਤਵ ਹੈ ? ਤੁਹਾਡੇ ਪਰਵਾਰ ਵਿੱਚ ?
21. ( ਪਤੀ ਲਈ ਪ੍ਰਸ਼ਨ ) ਕਿਵੇਂ ਇੱਕ ਧੀ ਹੋਣ ਔਰਤਾਂ ਦੀ ਆਪਣੀ ਧਾਰਨਾ ਬਦਲ ਦਿੱਤਾ ?  
( ਪਤਨੀਆਂ ਨੂੰ ਪ੍ਰਸ਼ਨ ) ਕਿਵੇਂ ਕੀਤਾ ਇੱਕ ਧੀ ਆਪਣੇ ਪਤੀ ਨੂੰ ਬਦਲਨ ਲਈ ਕਰ ਰਹੇ ਹਨ ?

### ਵਿਗਨੇਟਸ

22. ਇਹ ਸਮੁਦਾਏ ਦੇ ਨਾਲ ਕੰਮ ਕਰਣ ਵਾਲੇ ਪੇਸ਼ੇਵਰੋਂ ਨੂੰ ਸਾਂਝਾ ਕੀਤਾ ਹੈ ਕਿ ਕੁੱਝ ਹਲਾਤਾਂ ਹਨ :

A) ਕਦੇ ਕਦੇ, ਮਾਂ ਸਹੁਰਾ-ਘਰ (ਦਾਦੀ), ਤੁਲਣਾ ਵਿੱਚ, ਅਪਨੇ ਪੋਤਰੇ ਨੂੰ ਪੋਤੀਆਂ ਤੋਂ ਜਿਆਦਾ ਭੋਜਨ ਦੇਂਦੇ ਹਨ.. ਜਦੋਂ ਪੋਤਰੇ ਸਕੂਲ ਵਲੋਂ ਜਾਂ ਆਪਣੇ ਦੋਸਤਾਂ ਦੇ ਨਾਲ ਖੇਡਣ ਵਲੋਂ ਪਰਤਦੇ ਹਨ, ਤਾਂ ਦਾਦੀ ਹਮੇਸ਼ਾ ਉਨ੍ਹਾਂ ਨੂੰ ਮਠਿਆਈ ਅਤੇ ਚਾਹ ਦੀ ਪੇਸ਼ਕਸ਼ ਕਰਦੀ ਹੈ, ਅਤੇ ਉਨ੍ਹਾਂ ਨੂੰ ਆਪਣੀ ਪੋਤੀ ਦੇ ਖਾਣ ਦੇ ਸਮਾਂ ਵਲੋਂ ਪਹਿਲਾਂ ਭੋਜਨ ਲਈ ਬੈਠਣ ਲਈ ਆਖਦੀ ਹੈ. ਕਦੇ ਵਾਰ, ਪੋਤੀ ਲਈ ਭੋਜਨ ਨਹੀਂ ਬਚਦਾ. ਜਦੋਂ ਮਾਂ ਕੁੱਝ ਕਹਿਣ ਦੀ ਕੋਸ਼ਿਸ਼ ਕਰਦੀ ਹੈ, ਤਾਂ ਦਾਦੀ ਉਸਨੂੰ ਗੱਲ ਨਹੀਂ ਕਰਣ ਦਿੰਦੀ.

ਤੁਸੀਂ ਇਸ ਬਾਰੇ ਵਿੱਚ ਕੀ ਸੋਚਦੇ ਹੋ ?

(ਜਾਂਚ : ਤੁਸੀਂ ਕਦੇ ਇੱਥੇ ਇਹ ਹੋ ਰਿਹਾ ਹੈ ਦੇ ਬਾਰੇ ਵਿੱਚ ਸੁਣਿਆ ਹੈ ?

ਕੀ ਇਹ ਅਕਸਰ ਆਮ ਪਰਵਾਰਾਂ ਵਿੱਚ ਹੋਂਦਾਂ ਹੈ ? ਕੀ ਭਾਰਤ ਵਿੱਚ ਹੋਂਦਾਂ ਹੈ ?

ਤੁਸੀਂ ਇਸ ਬਾਰੇ ਵਿੱਚ ਕਿਵੇਂ ਮਹਿਸੂਸ ਕਰਦੇ ਹੋ ? ਤੁਵਾਦ ਪਤੀ ਇਸ ਬਾਰੇ ਵਿੱਚ ਕਿਵੇਂ ਮਹਿਸੂਸ ਕਰਦੇ ਹਨ ? )

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B) ਸਿਮਰਨਜੀਤ ੧੨ ਸਾਲ ਦੀ ਉਮਰ ਦਾ ਹੈ. ਅਹ ਸਕੂਲ ਵਿੱਚ ਢੀਲਾ ਹੈ ਅਤੇ ਮੁਸ਼ਕਲ ਨਾਲ ਜਮਾਤ ਵਿਚ ਪਾਸ ਹੋਂਦਾ ਹੈ. ਉਸ ਦੀ ਭੋਵ ੧੫ ਸਾਲ ਉਮਰ ਦੀ ਹੈ ਅਤੇ ਪੜ੍ਹਾਈ ਵਿਚ ਮੋਹਨਤ ਕਰਕੇ ਚੰਗੇ ਨੰਬਰ ਲਿਹਾਈ ਹੈ. ਉਨਹਾਂ ਦੇ ਮਾਤਾ ਪਿਤਾ ਕਦੇ ਵੀ ਸਿਮਰਨਜੀਤ ਨੂੰ ਗੁਸਾਂ ਨਹੀਂ ਕਰਦੇ. ਲੇਕਿਨ ਕਦੇ ਉਸਦੀ ਭੈਣ ਇੱਕ ਏ ਗਰੇਡ ਵਲੋਂ ਘੱਟ ਕੁੱਝ ਵੀ ਗਰੇਡ ਲਾਵੇ ਤਾਂ ਮਾਤਾ ਪਿਤਾ ਉਸ ਤੇ ਚੀਜ਼ਦੇ ਅਤੇ ਭੈੜਾ ਕਰਦੇ. ਐਹ ਕਹਿਦੇ ਹਨ ਕਿ ਪੁਤਰ ਲਾਮੀ ਉਹ ਖੁਸੀ ਨਾਲ ਪੈਸੇ ਦੇਵ ਗੇ. ਜਦ ਕੀ ਅਗਰ ਕੁੜੀ ਪੜ੍ਹਾਈ ਚਾਵੇ ਤਾਂ ਉਹ ਘਰ ਤੋਂ ਦੂਰ ਨਹੀਂ ਜਾ ਸਕਦੀ ਤੇ ਆਪਨੀ ਪੜ੍ਹਾਈ ਲਾਮੀ ਵਜ਼ੀਫਾ ਪ੍ਰਾਪਤ ਕਰੇ.

ਤੁਸੀ ਇਸ ਬਾਰੇ ਵਿੱਚ ਕੀ ਸੋਚਦੇ ਹੈ?

(ਜਾਂਚ: ਤੁਸੀ ਕਦੇ ਇੱਥੇ ਇਹ ਹੋ ਰਿਹਾ ਹੈ ਦੇ ਬਾਰੇ ਵਿੱਚ ਸੁਣਿਆ ਹੈ?)

ਕੀ ਏਹ ਅਕਸਰ ਆਮ ਪਰਵਾਰਾਂ ਵਿੱਚ ਹੋਂਦਾਂ ਹੈ? ਕੀ ਭਾਰਤ ਵਿੱਚ ਹੋਂਦਾਂ ਹੈ?

ਤੁਸੀ ਇਸ ਬਾਰੇ ਵਿੱਚ ਕਿਵੇਂ ਮਹਿਸੂਸ ਕਰਦੇ ਹੋ? ਤਵਾਦ ਪਤੀ ਇਸ ਬਾਰੇ ਵਿੱਚ ਕਿਵੇਂ ਮਹਿਸੂਸ ਕਰਦੇ ਹਨ?)

C) . ਜਸਪ੍ਰੀਤ ਉਸਦੇ ਮਾਤਾ ਪਿਤਾ ਅਤੇ ਇੱਕ ਵੱਡੇ ਭਰਾ ਦੇ ਨਾਲ ਰਹਿੰਦੀ ਹੈ. . ਉਸਦੇ ਪਿਤਾ ਕਦੇ ਕਦੇ ਸ਼ਰਾਬ ਪੀ ਕੇ ਜਦੋਂ ਕਮ ਤੋ ਘਰ ਅਓਦੋਂ ਸੀ ਤੇ ਉਸਦੀ ਮਾਂ ਅਤੇ ਉਨ੍ਹ ਮਾਰਦੇ ਸਨ, ਹੋਰ ਬਹਤ ਭੈੜੇ ਸ਼ਬਦ ਕਹਿਦੇ ਸਨ. ਕਦੇ ਕਦੇ, ਜਸਪ੍ਰੀਤ ਦਾ ਭਰਾ ਵੀ ਉਸਨੂੰ ਮਾਰਦਾ ਸੀ ਅਤੇ ਮਾਤਾ ਪਿਤਾ ਉਸਨੂੰ ਇਹ ਆਗਿਆ ਦੇਦੇ ਸਨ. ਜਸਪ੍ਰੀਤ ਨੇ ਇਹ ਗਲ ਅਪਨੇ ਸਕੂਲ ਵਿੱਚ ਸਲਾਹਕਾਰ ਨੂੰ ਦੱਸੀ. ਇਸ ਲਈ ਉਸਨੂੰ ਇਕ ਹੋਰ ਸਿੱਖ ਪਰਵਾਰ ਦੇ ਨਾਲ ਰਹਿਣ ਲਈ ਭੇਜਿਆ ਗਿਆ. ਉਸਦੇ ਮਾਤਾ ਪਿਤਾ ਨੇ ਉਸ ਪਰਵਾਰ ਦਾ ਪਤਾ ਚਲਾ ਲਿਆ ਅਤੇ ਉਸ ਪਰਵਾਰ ਨੂੰ ਇਹ ਕਿਹਾ ਕਿ ਜਸਪ੍ਰੀਤ ਬਰਾਬ ਵਰਤਾਅ ਕਰਦੀ ਹੈ. ਇਸ ਲਾਮੀ ਨਵਾ ਸਿੱਖ ਪਰਵਾਰ ਵੀ ਉਸ ਨਾਲ ਦੁਰਵਿਅਵਹਾਰ ਕਰਨ ਲਗ ਗਿਆ.

ਤੁਸੀ ਇਸ ਬਾਰੇ ਵਿੱਚ ਕੀ ਸੋਚਦੇ ਹੈ?

(ਜਾਂਚ: ਤੁਸੀ ਕਦੇ ਇੱਥੇ ਇਹ ਹੋ ਰਿਹਾ ਹੈ ਦੇ ਬਾਰੇ ਵਿੱਚ ਸੁਣਿਆ ਹੈ?)

ਕੀ ਏਹ ਅਕਸਰ ਆਮ ਪਰਵਾਰਾਂ ਵਿੱਚ ਹੋਂਦਾਂ ਹੈ? ਕੀ ਭਾਰਤ ਵਿੱਚ ਹੋਂਦਾਂ ਹੈ?

ਤੁਸੀ ਇਸ ਬਾਰੇ ਵਿੱਚ ਕਿਵੇਂ ਮਹਿਸੂਸ ਕਰਦੇ ਹੋ? ਤਵਾਦ ਪਤੀ ਇਸ ਬਾਰੇ ਵਿੱਚ ਕਿਵੇਂ ਮਹਿਸੂਸ ਕਰਦੇ ਹਨ?)

D) . ਗੁਰਿੰਦਰ ਅਤੇ ਅਮਨ ਦੇ ਦੋ ਬੇਟੇ ਅਤੇ ਇੱਕ ਧੀ ਹੈ. ਉਨ੍ਹਾਂ ਦੀ ਵੱਡੀ ਧੀ ੨੦ ਸਾਲ ਦੀ ਹੈ ਅਤੇ ਉਹ ਉਸਦੇ ਵਿਆਹ ਦੇ ਬਾਰੇ ਵਿੱਚ ਸੋਚਣਾ ਸ਼ੁਰੂ ਕਰ ਰਹੇ ਹਨ. ਉਹ ਚਾਹੇ ਘਰ ਰਹਦੀ ਹੈ ਮਕਾਮੀ ਸਮੁਦਾਇਕ ਕਾਲਜ ਵਿੱਚ ਇੱਕ ਵਿਦਿਆਰਥੀ ਹੈ. ਉਹ ਪੜ੍ਹਾਈ ਵਿੱਚ ਅਡੀ ਹੈ. ਸਭਾਵੀ ਮੁੰਡੀਆਂ ਦੇ ਪਰਵਾਰ ਜਦੋਂ ਉਨਹਾ ਨੂੰ ਮਿਲਦੇ ਤਾ ਇਹ ਪੁੱਛਦੇ ਕਿ ਲੜਕੀ ਨੂੰ ਪੜ੍ਹਾਈ ਦੀ ਕੀ ਜ਼ਰੂਰਤ ਹੈ, ਕੀ ਉਹ ਇਕ ਉਚਿਤ ਭੋਜਨ ਅਤੇ ਸਵਾਇ ਕਰ ਸਕਦੀ ਹੈ? ਕੀ ਉਦੇ ਮਾਤਾ ਪਿਤਾ ਜਿੰਨਾ ਉਹ ਚਹੇਜ਼ ਮਗਦੇ ਹਨ, ਦੇ ਸਕਦੇ ਹਨ? ਇਹ ਸਬ ਸੋਚ ਕੇ,ਉਸਦੇ ਮਾਤਾ ਪਿਤਾ ਨੇ ਉਸਨੂੰ ਜਮਾਤ ਤੋਂ ਕਫਾ ਕੇ ਉਸਦੀ ਸ਼ਾਦੀ ਬਰੇ ਸੋਚਨਾ ਸ਼ੁਰੂ ਕਰ ਦਿਤਾ.

ਸਬਰਵਾਲ, ਪੰਜਾਬੀ ਸਿੱਖ ਵਿੱਚ ਧੀ ਉਪੇਕਸ਼ਾ ਅਤੇ ਪੁੱਤ ਪਸੰਦ

ਉੱਤਰੀ ਕੈਲਿਫੋਰਨਿਆ ਦੇ ਬੇ ਏਰਿਆ ਵਿੱਚ ਆਪ੍ਰਵਾਸਿਆਂ

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ਪੇਜ ੪ ਦੀ ੫

Approval date:

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ਤੁਸੀਂ ਇਸ ਬਾਰੇ ਵਿੱਚ ਕੀ ਸੋਚਦੇ ਹੋ?

(ਜਾਂਚ: ਤੁਸੀਂ ਕਦੇ ਇੱਥੇ ਇਹ ਹੋ ਰਿਹਾ ਹੈ ਦੇ ਬਾਰੇ ਵਿੱਚ ਸੁਣਿਆ ਹੈ?)

ਕੀ ਇਹ ਅਕਸਰ ਆਮ ਪਰਵਾਰਾਂ ਵਿੱਚ ਹੋਂਦਾਂ ਹੈ? ਕੀ ਭਾਰਤ ਵਿੱਚ ਹੋਂਦਾਂ ਹੈ?

ਤੁਸੀਂ ਇਸ ਬਾਰੇ ਵਿੱਚ ਕਿਵੇਂ ਮਹਿਸੂਸ ਕਰਦੇ ਹੋ? ਤੁਹਾਡੇ ਪਤੀ ਇਸ ਬਾਰੇ ਵਿੱਚ ਕਿਵੇਂ ਮਹਿਸੂਸ ਕਰਦੇ ਹਨ?)

E). ਹਰਲੀਨ ਅਤੇ ਮਾਇਕ ਫਰਮੋਟ ਵਿੱਚ ਆਪਣੇ ਮਾਤਾ ਪਿਤਾ ਦੇ ਨਾਲ ਰਹਿੰਦੇ ਹਨ . ਅਪਨੇ ਪਰਵਾਰ ਦੇ ਖਰਚੇ ਪੂਰੇ ਕਰਨ ਲਈ, ਮਾਤਾ ਪਿਤਾ ਦੋਨੋਂ ਦੇ ਨੌਕਰੀਆਂ ਕਰਦੇ ਹਨ, ਅਤੇ ਬਹੁਤ ਸ਼ਾਮ ਨੂੰ ਥਕ ਕੇ ਘਰ ਆਉਂਦੇ ਹਨ. ਕਦੇ ਕਦੇ, ਰਾਤ ਨੂੰ ਹਰਲੀਨ ਅਤੇ ਮਾਇਕ ਮਾਤਾ ਪਿਤਾ ਦਾ ਜ਼ੋਰਦਾਰ ਝਗੜਾ ਸੁਣਦੇ ਸ਼ੀ ਅਤੇ ਇਥੇ ਤਕ ਕਿ ਪਿਤਾ ਨੇ ਮਾਤਾ ਨੂੰ ਥਪੜ ਮਾਰਿਆ. ਇਨ੍ਹਾਂ ਤਰਕਾਗ ਦੇ ਬਾਅਦ ਸਵੇਰੇ ਉਨ੍ਹਾਂ ਦੀ ਮਾਂ ਅਕਸਰ ਹਰਲੀਨ ਨੂੰ ਜਦੋਂ ਸਕੂਲ ਲਈ ਤਿਆਰ ਹੋ ਰਹੀ ਹੋਂਦੀ ਹੈ, ਚਿਖਦੀ ਹੈ ਤੇ ਉਨ੍ਹਾਂ ਕਹਦੀ ਹੈ ਕੀ ਉਹ ਬਦਸੂਰਤ ਅਤੇ ਮੋਟੀ ਹੈ, ਤੇ ਉਦੇ ਨਾਲ ਕੋਯੀ ਵਿਆਹ ਕਿਵੇਂ ਕਰਵਾਵੇ ਗਾ? ਕਦੇ ਕਦੇ , ਉਹ ਹਰਲੀਨ ਨੂੰ ਮਾਰਦੀ ਵੀ ਹੈ.

ਤੁਸੀਂ ਇਸ ਬਾਰੇ ਵਿੱਚ ਕੀ ਸੋਚਦੇ ਹੋ?

(ਜਾਂਚ: ਤੁਸੀਂ ਕਦੇ ਇੱਥੇ ਇਹ ਹੋ ਰਿਹਾ ਹੈ ਦੇ ਬਾਰੇ ਵਿੱਚ ਸੁਣਿਆ ਹੈ?)

ਕੀ ਇਹ ਅਕਸਰ ਆਮ ਪਰਵਾਰਾਂ ਵਿੱਚ ਹੋਂਦਾਂ ਹੈ? ਕੀ ਭਾਰਤ ਵਿੱਚ ਹੋਂਦਾਂ ਹੈ?

ਤੁਸੀਂ ਇਸ ਬਾਰੇ ਵਿੱਚ ਕਿਵੇਂ ਮਹਿਸੂਸ ਕਰਦੇ ਹੋ? ਤੁਹਾਡੇ ਪਤੀ ਇਸ ਬਾਰੇ ਵਿੱਚ ਕਿਵੇਂ ਮਹਿਸੂਸ ਕਰਦੇ ਹਨ?)

ਸਬਰਵਾਲ, ਪੰਜਾਬੀ ਸਿੱਖ ਵਿੱਚ ਧੀ ਉਪੇਕਸ਼ਾ ਅਤੇ ਪੁੱਤ ਪਸੰਦ

ਉੱਤਰੀ ਕੈਲਿਫੋਰਨਿਆ ਦੇ ਬੇ ਏਰਿਆ ਵਿੱਚ ਆਪ੍ਰਵਾਸਿਆਂ

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ਪੰਨਾ ੫ ਦੀ ੫



### ***Appendix J: In-Depth Interview Guide for Sons and Daughters***

Principal Investigator: Kristin Mmari, DrPH  
Assistant Professor  
Department of Population, Family and  
Reproductive Health  
Johns Hopkins Bloomberg School of Public Health

Institution: Johns Hopkins Bloomberg School of Public Health

Study Title: An Exploration of Son Preference and Daughter Neglect among  
Punjabi Sikh Immigrants in the Northern California Bay Area

IRB No.: IRB00005008

PI Version Number/Date: Version 1, March 28, 2013

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1. What part of India is your family from?
2. Why did your family relocate to the U.S.?  
  
*If not born in the U.S.:*
3. How would you describe your experience in the United States so far?
  - a. 3a. How does your experience in the United States so far impact the way you feel about yourself and your family life?
4. How have you changed as a result of living in the United States?
  - a. 4a. How have your cultural beliefs changed as a result of living in the U.S.?
5. Does your family identify with a certain caste? Why or why not?
6. How many children do you want, ideally?
  - a. 6a. How many sons and how many daughters did you ideally want?
7. What are your roles and responsibilities in your family?
  - a. 7a. What are your sibling's roles and responsibilities in your family?
8. How were decisions made about how your family spends money on food and clothing?  
On larger investments (i.e. buying a car or house, or a household appliance)?
9. What do you/ did you do with your family on the weekends?
  - a. 9a. How often do/did your family visit the temple over the course of a month? What other places or events did/do you usually attend as a family?
10. To what extent do you feel you have control over the outcomes of family situations you encounter in the United States?
11. What extracurricular activities did you participate in?

12. What extracurricular activities did your **(brother/ sister)** participate in?
13. What did you do after school when you got home?
14. What did your **(brother/sister)** do after school when he/she got home?
15. What kinds of games did you play with your sibling(s)?
  - 15a. How did you tease each other? What did you think of that?
16. When you did something wrong, what would happen/ how were you punished?
  - 16a. When your sibling **(brother/sister)** did something wrong, what would happen/ how was he/she punished?
17. How were you expected to help around the house?
  - 17a. What chores did you help with? What chores did your **(brother/sister)** help with?
18. What is the significance of a son in your family?
19. What is the significance of a daughter in your family?

### **Vignettes**

20. These are some situations that professionals who work with the community have shared:

*F. Sometimes, mother-in-laws (dadi) give more food to their grandsons than to their granddaughters. When grandsons return from school or from playing with their friends, dadis always offer them sweets and tea, and allow them to sit down for meals first so by the time their granddaughter eats, there isn't enough food left. When her daughter-in-law tries to say something to object, the mother-in-law doesn't let her talk.*

#### **What do you think of this?**

**(Probes:**

Have you ever heard of this happening here?

How common do you think this is in families here? What about in India?

How do you feel about this? How do you think your parents/ sibling would feel about this?)

*G. Simranjeet is 12 years old. He slacks off at school and barely passes his classes while his older sister who is 15 years old studies very hard and does well. His parents never get upset at him but when his sister gets anything lower than an A grade, she is yelled at and called very bad names. Their father says that he will gladly pay for his son to go to college wherever he wants but if she wants to study, she needs to get scholarships to pay for all four years and she can't go far from home.*

#### **What do you think of this?**

**(Probes:**

Have you ever heard of this happening here?

How common do you think this is in families here? What about in India?

How do you feel about this? How do you think your parents/ sibling would feel about this?)

- H. *Jaspreet lived with her parents and one older brother. Her father sometimes drank when he came home from work and then hit her mom and her, and also called them very bad words. Sometimes, Jaspreet's brother hit her too and her parents allowed this. She told a counselor at school and then was taken out of her home and sent to live with another Sikh family. Her parents found out who that family was and told them their daughter always misbehaved so her new family also started abusing her.*

**What do you think of this?**

**(Probes:**

Have you ever heard of this happening here?

How common do you think this is in families here? What about in India?

How do you feel about this? How do you think your parents/ sibling would feel about this?)

- I. *Gurinder and Aman have two daughters and one son. Their older daughter is 20 years old and they are starting to think about her marriage. She lives at home, is a student at the local community college, and does well in her studies but many families of the prospective boys they meet ask why she needs to study, whether she can cook a proper meal and clean, and whether her parents will provide the dowry they are asking for. Her parents are thinking of pulling her out of her classes to focus on marriage prospects.*

**What do you think of this?**

**(Probes:**

Have you ever heard of this happening here?

How common do you think this is in families here? What about in India?

How do you feel about this? How do you think your parents/ sibling would feel about this?)

- J. *Harleen and Manik live with their parents in Fremont. Both their parents work two jobs each to make ends meet and often come home very tired in the evenings. Sometimes Harleen and Manik can hear them fighting loudly late at night and even hear their mother get slapped. The morning after these arguments, their mother often yells at Harleen while she is getting ready for school, tells her how fat and ugly she is, and how no one will marry her. Sometimes, their mother even hits Harleen.*

**What do you think of this?**

**(Probes:**

Have you ever heard of this happening here?

How common do you think this is in families here? What about in India?

How do you feel about this? How do you think your parents/ sibling would feel about this?)

***Appendix K: Local South Asian Organizations (ENGLISH)***

Principal Investigator: Kristin Mmari, DrPH  
Assistant Professor  
Department of Population, Family and Reproductive Health  
Johns Hopkins Bloomberg School of Public Health

Institution: Johns Hopkins Bloomberg School of Public Health

Study Title: An Exploration of Son Preference and Daughter Neglect among  
Punjabi Sikh Immigrants in the Northern California Bay Area

IRB No.: IRB00005008

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***Asian Women's Shelter***

*San Francisco, CA*

Helpline: 1.877.751.0880  
Address: 3543 18th Street #19  
San Francisco, CA 94110  
Website: <http://www.sfaws.org/>

***Maitri***

*Sunnyvale, CA*

Helpline: 1.800.862.4874  
408.436.8398  
Office: 408.436.8393  
Email: [maitri@maitri.org](mailto:maitri@maitri.org)  
Website: <http://www.maitri.org>

***MySahana***

Website: [www.mysahana.org](http://www.mysahana.org)

***Narika***

*Berkeley, CA*

Helpline: 1.800.215.7308  
Office: 510.444.6068  
Email: [helpline@narika.org](mailto:helpline@narika.org)  
[narika@narika.org](mailto:narika@narika.org)  
Website: <http://www.narika.org>



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IRB No.: 5008

#### Appendix L: Local South Asian Organizations (PUNJABI)

**Principal Investigator:** Kristin Mmari, DrPH  
Assistant Professor  
Department of Population, Family and Reproductive Health  
Johns Hopkins Bloomberg School of Public Health

**Institution:** Johns Hopkins Bloomberg School of Public Health

**Study Title:** An Exploration of Son Preference and Daughter Neglect among  
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**ਏਸ਼ੀਅਨ ਵੂਮੈਨਸ ਸ਼ੈਲਟਰ:** ਹੇਲਪਲਾਇਨ, ਘਰ, ਮਾਮਲਾ ਪਰਬੰਧਨ

ਸੈਨ ਫਰਾਂਸਿਸਕੋ

ਹੇਲਪਲਾਇਨ: ੧.੮੭੭.੭੫੧.੦੮੮੦

ਪਤਾ: ੩੫੪੩ ੧੮ ਸਟਰੀਟ #੧੯

ਸੈਨ ਫਰਾਂਸਿਸਕੋ ੯੪੧੧੦

ਵੇਬਸਾਈਟ: <http://www.sfaws.org/>

**ਮੇਰੀ: ਹੇਲਪਲਾਇਨ, ਘਰ, ਕਾਨੂੰਨੀ ਵਕਾਲਤ**

ਸਨੀਵੇਲ

ਹੇਲਪਲਾਇਨ: ੧.੮੦੦.੮੬੨.੪੮੭੪

੪੦੮.੪੩੬.੮੩੯੮

ਦਫਤਰ: ੪੦੮.੪੩੬.੮੩੯੩

ਈਮੇਲ: [maitri@maitri.org](mailto:maitri@maitri.org)

ਵੇਬਸਾਈਟ: <http://www.maitri.org>

**ਮਾਇ ਸਾਹਨਾ:** ਭਾਵਨਾਤਮਕ ਸਿਹਤ ਅਤੇ ਭਲਾਈ ਦੇ ਬਾਰੇ ਵਿੱਚ ਜਾਣਕਾਰੀ ਦੇਣ ਵਾਲੀ ਵੇਬਸਾਈਟ

ਵੇਬਸਾਈਟ: [www.mysahana.org](http://www.mysahana.org)

ਸਬਰਵਾਲ, ਪੰਜਾਬੀ ਸਿੱਖ ਵਿੱਚ ਧੀ ਉਪੇਕਸ਼ਾ ਅਤੇ ਪੁੱਤ ਪਸੰਦ

ਉੱਤਰੀ ਕੈਲਿਫੋਰਨਿਆ ਦੇ ਬੇ ਏਰਿਆ ਵਿੱਚ ਆਪ੍ਰਵਾਸਿਆਂ

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ਪੇਜ ੧ ਚੀ ੨



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**ਨਾਰਿਕਾ: ਹੇਲਪਲਾਇਨ, ਸਮਰਥਨ, ਸੂਚਨਾ**

**ਬਰਕਲੇ**

ਹੇਲਪਲਾਇਨ: ੧.੮੦੦.੨੧੫.੭੩੦੮

ਦਫ਼ਤਰ: ੫੧੦.੪੪੪.੬੦੬੮

ਈਮੇਲ: [helpline@narika.org](mailto:helpline@narika.org)  
[narika@narika.org](mailto:narika@narika.org)

ਵੇਬਸਾਈਟ: <http://www.narika.org>

ਸਬਰਵਾਲ, ਪੰਜਾਬੀ ਸਿੱਖ ਵਿੱਚ ਧੀ ਉਪੇਕਸ਼ਾ ਅਤੇ ਪੁੱਤ ਪਸੰਦ  
ਉੱਤਰੀ ਕੈਲਿਫੋਰਨਿਆ ਦੇ ਬੇ ਏਰਿਆ ਵਿੱਚ ਆਪ੍ਰਵਾਸਿਆਂ  
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ਪੇਜ ੨ ਦੀ ੨

### *Appendix M: Consent for Online Survey*

Principal Investigator: Kristin Mmari, DrPH  
Assistant Professor  
Department of Population, Family and Reproductive Health  
Johns Hopkins Bloomberg School of Public Health

Institution: Johns Hopkins Bloomberg School of Public Health

Study Title: An Exploration of Son Preference and Daughter Neglect among  
Punjabi Sikh Immigrants in the Northern California Bay Area

IRB No.: IRB00005008

PI Version Number/Date: Version 1, December 9, 2013

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You are invited to participate in a research study by the Johns Hopkins Bloomberg School of Public Health.

The purpose of this study is to better understand gender and family dynamics among Punjabi Sikhs currently residing in Northern California. We plan to share the results of this study with community members and organizations so it can help improve services and programs offered in the future.

If you choose to take part in this study, you will complete a one-time anonymous on-line survey. The total amount of time you will spend on this survey is 15- 20 minutes. You may refuse to answer any of the questions and you may stop your participation in this study at any time.

There is no direct benefit to you by participating in this study but your perspectives will help us and other professionals better understand the health and wellbeing of members of this community. Your participation in this study is completely voluntary. That means that you may choose not to complete this interview and if you choose not to participate, it will not be held against you in any way. If you meet the criteria to participate in this study and complete the entire survey, you will receive a \$10 Target or Starbucks gift card.

**There are no significant risks associated with being interviewed. We have a number of steps in place to make sure individuals outside the research team will not know what you said during the interview, including not asking any personal identifying information during the actual interview, and if any personal identifying information does get mentioned, it will be deleted.** Materials are returned anonymously via the internet through secured on-line survey vendors. If results of this research study are reported in journals or at conference, the people who participated in this study will not be named or identified.

Additional information about this study may be obtained by contacting Simran Kaur at (408) 915-7454. You may also contact the Johns Hopkins School of Public Health Institutional Review Board, which approved this study, about any problems or concerns at (410) 955-3193 or 1-888-262-3242.

Your participation in this on-line survey will be a result of you agreeing to participate in this survey. If you would like a copy of this form, please email Simran Kaur at [punjabi.research@gmail.com](mailto:punjabi.research@gmail.com).

To ensure anonymity, your signature is not needed on this document. Your willingness to participate in this research study is assumed if you continue with completing the survey.

Thank you!



### *Appendix N: Online Survey*

Principal Investigator: Kristin Mmari, DrPH  
Assistant Professor  
Department of Population, Family and Reproductive Health  
Johns Hopkins Bloomberg School of Public Health

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1. Gender:      \_\_\_ Male      \_\_\_ Female (check one)
2. Age:      \_\_\_\_\_
3. What city do you currently live in?  
\_\_\_\_\_
4. Place of birth (please be as specific as possible i.e. village, city, state, country):  
\_\_\_\_\_
5. Age of move to U.S.:  
\_\_\_\_\_
- 5a. Have you been living in the U.S. since then?      \_\_\_\_\_ Yes      \_\_\_\_\_ No
6. Why did you/your family relocate to the U.S.?  
\_\_\_\_\_
7. Age at time of marriage:      \_\_\_\_\_
- 7a. What is the age difference between you and your spouse? \_\_\_\_\_

8. Highest level of education completed:

\_\_\_\_\_ High School

\_\_\_\_\_ Some college

\_\_\_\_\_ Undergraduate degree

\_\_\_\_\_ Some graduate school

\_\_\_\_\_ Graduate degree

9. Occupation: \_\_\_\_\_

10. Highest level of education completed by your spouse:

\_\_\_\_\_ High School

\_\_\_\_\_ Some college

\_\_\_\_\_ Undergraduate degree

\_\_\_\_\_ Some graduate school

\_\_\_\_\_ Graduate degree

11. Spouse's Occupation: \_\_\_\_\_

12. Who are the other members of your household?

\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_

13. How old are your children?

\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_

***Thank you for taking the time to take our survey. We ask that you be completely honest with your responses and answer to the best of your ability in your own words, keeping in mind that this survey is completely anonymous and your answers will not be connected to you in any way.***

14. What is your role in your family? In other words, what are your responsibilities in your household? What are you in charge of in your family?)

15. What is your spouse's role in your family?

16. In your opinion, what is the most important role of women and girls in Punjabi Sikh families? What about in the community?

17. What is the most important role of men and boys in Punjabi Sikh families? What about in the community?

18. Whether you have a son or not, what is the significance of a son in your life? In your family?

19. Whether you have a daughter or not, what is the significance of a daughter in your life? In your family?

20. How would you describe the treatment of male children compared to female children in Punjabi Sikh households?

21. This is a real situation that professionals who work with the community have shared:

*Gurinder and Aman have two daughters and one son. Their older daughter is 20 years old and they are starting to think about her marriage. She lives at home, is a student at the local community college, and does well in her studies but many families of the prospective boys they meet say ask why she needs to study, whether she can cook a proper meal and clean, and whether her parents will provide the dowry they are asking for. Her parents are thinking of pulling her out of her classes to focus on marriage prospects.*

What are your thoughts about this? What would you do if you were the parent in this situation?

22. If you have any other thoughts you'd like to share with us, please do so in the space below:

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***Thank you for your time and for sharing your opinions with us! We appreciate it.***

To thank you, we would like to send you a \$10 Target or Starbucks gift card via email. Which do you prefer?

\_\_\_\_ Target

\_\_\_\_ Starbucks

What email address should we send this to? \_\_\_\_\_

***Thank you for completing our survey!***

***If this survey has caused you any emotional discomfort or if you would like to talk to someone about any personal or family issues, please contact one of the following resources to discuss community referrals, learn more information, or for other support services:***

***Maitri***

***Sunnyvale, CA***

Helpline: 1.800.862.4874

408.436.8398

Office: 408.436.8393

Email: maitri@maitri.org  
Website: <http://www.maitri.org>

***MySahana***

Website: [www.mysahana.org](http://www.mysahana.org)

***Narika***

*Berkeley, CA*

Helpline: 1.800.215.7308

Office 510.444.6068

Email: [helpline@narika.org](mailto:helpline@narika.org)  
[narika@narika.org](mailto:narika@narika.org)

Website: <http://www.narika.org>

## *Appendix O: Recruitment Flier (English)*



Approved: October 3, 2013 IRB No.: 5008

### **Tell us what you think about family relationships!**

Participate in a research study on gender and family dynamics. This is a unique opportunity to help us better understand Sikh American families and services they may need.

#### **Who can participate?**

- If you are an unmarried male or female, you can participate if you:
  - Are 18-24 years old,
  - Have at least 1 sibling, *and*
  - Live in Northern California.
- If you are a married male or female, you can participate if you:
  - Were born in North India,
  - Are at least 21 years of age,
  - Have at least 2 children, *and*
  - Live in Northern California.

#### **What do you have to do?**

- Speak to us on the phone or in-person (in English or Punjabi) anytime that works for you (including evenings and weekends)
- Answer some questions and tell us what you think

#### **How long will it take?**

- 30-60 minutes

#### **What do you get for participating?**

- Your opinions will be heard, respected, and kept private
- You will help community leaders and volunteers better address community needs
- \$10 Target or Starbucks gift card

#### **Would you like to participate?**

To sign up or if you have questions, please contact Simran at (408) 915-7454 or email [punjabi.research@gmail.com](mailto:punjabi.research@gmail.com).

[Principal Investigator: Kristin Mman, DrPH, Johns Hopkins Bloomberg School of Public Health, IRB Number: 00005008]

## Appendix P: Recruitment Flier (Punjabi)

### ਤੁਸੀਂ ਪਰਵਾਰ ਦੇ ਰਿਸ਼ਤਿਆਂ ਦੇ ਬਾਰੇ ਵਿੱਚ ਕੀ ਸੋਚਦੇ ਹੋ? ਸਾਨੂੰ ਦੱਸੋ!

ਲਿੰਗ ਅਤੇ ਪਰਵਾਰ ਦੀ ਗਤੀਸ਼ੀਲਤਾ ਉੱਤੇ ਇੱਕ ਜਾਂਚ ਪੜ੍ਹਾਈ ਵਿੱਚ ਭਾਗ ਲੋ

ਇਹ ਪੜ੍ਹਾਈ ਸਾਨੂੰ ਅਮਰੀਕਨ ਸਿੱਖ ਪਰਵਾਰਾਂ ਅਤੇ ਉਨ੍ਹਾਂ ਦੀਆਂ ਸੇਵਾਵਾਂ ਨੂੰ ਸਮਝਣ ਵਿੱਚ ਇੱਕ ਅਨੋਖਾ ਮੌਕਾ ਹੈ।

#### ਇਸ ਪੜ੍ਹਾਈ ਵਿੱਚ ਕੌਣ ਭਾਗ ਲੈ ਸਕਦਾ ਹੈ?

ਅਗਰ ਤੁਸੀਂ ਇੱਕ ਕੰਵਾਰਾ ਪੁਰਖ ਜਾਂ ਤੀਵੀਂ ਹੋ, ਤਾਂ ਤੁਸੀਂ ਭਾਗ ਲੈ ਸਕਦੇ ਹੋ:

- ਜਾਂ ੧੮ - ੨੪ ਸਾਲ ਦੀ ਉਮਰ ਦੇ ਹੋ,
- ਘੱਟ ਵਲੋਂ ਘੱਟ ੧ ਭਰਾ ਹੈ ਜਾਂ ਭੈਣ ਹੈ, **ਅਤੇ**
- ਤੁਸੀਂ ਉੱਤਰੀ ਕੈਲਿਫੋਰਨਿਆ ਵਿੱਚ ਰਹਿੰਦੇ ਹੋ।

ਤੁਸੀਂ ਇੱਕ ਸ਼ਾਦੀਸ਼ੁਦਾ ਪੁਰਖ ਜਾਂ ਤੀਵੀਂ ਹੋ, ਤਾਂ ਤੁਸੀਂ ਜੇਕਰ ਭਾਗ ਲੈ ਸਕਦੇ ਹੋ:

- ਤੁਸੀਂ ਉੱਤਰ ਭਾਰਤ ਵਿੱਚ ਪੈਦਾ ਹੋਏ ਹੋ,
- ਉਮਰ ਦੇ ਘੱਟ ਵਲੋਂ ਘੱਟ ੨੧ ਸਾਲ ਦੇ ਹੋ,
- ਤੁਹਾਡੇ ਘੱਟ ਵਲੋਂ ਘੱਟ ੨ ਬੱਚੇ ਹਨ, **ਅਤੇ**
- ਤੁਸੀਂ ਉੱਤਰੀ ਕੈਲਿਫੋਰਨਿਆ ਵਿੱਚ ਰਹਿੰਦੇ ਹੋ।

#### ਇਸ ਲਈ ਤੁਹਾਨੂੰ ਕੀ ਕਰਨਾ ਹੈ?

- ਸਾਡੇ ਨਾਲ ਫੋਨ ਜਾਂ ਖੁਦ ਗੱਲ ਕਰੋ, ਕਿਸੀ ਵੀ ਵਕਤ (ਸ਼ਾਮ ਅਤੇ ਸਪਤਾਹਾਤ ਸਹਿਤ)
- ਕੁੱਝ ਸਵਾਲਾਂ ਦੇ ਜਵਾਬ ਅਤੇ ਅਪਣੀ ਸੋਚ ਸਾਡੇ ਨਾਲ ਸਾਂਝੀ ਕਰੋ

#### ਇਸ ਮਦਦ ਲਈ ਕਿੰਨਾ ਸਮਾਂ ਲੱਗੇਗਾ?

- ੩੦ - ੬੦ ਮਿੰਟ

#### ਇਸ ਪੜ੍ਹਾਈ ਵਿੱਚ ਮਦਦ ਕਰਨ ਦਾ ਤੁਹਾਨੂੰ ਕੀ ਲਾਭ ਹੈ?

- ਤੁਹਾਡੀ ਰਾਏ ਨੂੰ ਸੁਣਿਆ ਅਤੇ ਸਨਮਾਨ ਦਿੱਤਾ ਜਾਵੇਗਾ ਅਤੇ ਨਿਜੀ ਰੱਖਿਆ ਜਾਵੇਗਾ
- ਸਾਡੇ ਸਮੁਦਾਏ ਦੇ ਨੇਤਾਵਾਂ ਅਤੇ ਸਵਇੰਸੇਵਕੋਂ ਨੂੰ ਸਾਡੀਆਂ ਜਰੂਰਤਾਂ ਦਾ ਪਤਾ ਕਰਨ ਵਿੱਚ ਮਦਦ ਮਿਲੇਗੀ
- \$੧੦ “ਟਾਰਗਟ” ਜਾਂ “ਸਟਾਰਬਕਸ” ਉਪਹਾਰ ਕਾਰਡ

### ਤੁਸੀਂ ਭਾਗ ਲੈਣਾ ਚਾਹੋਗੇ?

ਹਿਸ਼ੀ ਲੈਣ ਲਈ ਜੇ ਕਰ ਕੋਈ ਪੁਸ਼ਨ ਹੋਯੇ ਤਾਂ ਸਿਮਰਨ ਨੂੰ ਸੱਪਰਕ ਕਰੋ

(੪੦੮) ੯੧੫-੭੪੫੪ ਜਾਂ ਈਮੇਲ [punjabi.research@gmail.com](mailto:punjabi.research@gmail.com)

(ਪ੍ਰਧਾਨ ਅੰਵੇਸ਼ਕ : ਕਰਿਸਟਿਨ ਮਮਾਰੀ, ਆਈ ਆਰ ਬੀ ਦੇ ਜਾਂਸ ਹਾਪਕਿੰਸ ਬਲੂਮਬਰਗ ਸਕੂਲ: ੦੦੦੦੫੦੦੮)

## Curriculum Vitae

### **SIMRAN K. SABHERWAL, MHS**

Email: simran3@gmail.com

Date and Place of Birth: January 3, 1983, Baltimore, Maryland, USA

## **EDUCATION**

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### **Johns Hopkins Bloomberg School of Public Health (JHSPH)** Baltimore, MD

2009-2014

- ***Doctor of Philosophy (PhD) Candidate*** in Department of Population, Family and Reproductive Health
- Completed ***Certificate in Community-Based Public Health***, May 2011
- Completed coursework: Biostatistics; Epidemiology; Qualitative Research, Theory, & Methods; Community-Based Participatory Research; Translating Research into Public Health Programs; Implementation and Sustainability of Community-Based Health Programs; Women's Health, Family Planning Policies and Programs, and Research Ethics, among others

### **Johns Hopkins Bloomberg School of Public Health (JHSPH)** Baltimore, MD

2005-2007

- ***Master of Health Science (MHS)*** in Department of Epidemiology

### **University of California, Berkeley, College of Letters and Science** Berkeley, CA

2001-2005

- ***Bachelor of Arts (BA)*** in Public Health

## **CONTINUING EDUCATION**

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### **Women's Health & Empowerment Summer Institute**      University of California, Los Angeles (UCLA) *University of California Global Health Institute*      August 22-September 2, 2011

- Intensive graduate course designed to provide core knowledge and skills from multiple disciplines on how to improve women's health and well-being globally, explain women's health disparities, apply interdisciplinary empowerment frameworks, and utilize analytical tools to assess case studies

### **Maternal and Child Health (MCH) Leadership Retreat**      University of Illinois at Chicago (UIC) *University of Illinois at Chicago Maternal and Child Health Leadership Program*      July 16-18, 2008

- Leadership retreat focused on identifying evidence-based challenges in public health and MCH across the academic and practice arenas, practical leadership development training, and workforce community development

## EXPERIENCE

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### **Children's Outcomes Research Program**

*Project Manager*

University of Colorado, Denver

11/13- Present

- Manage federally funded research projects, provide research and evaluation support to project investigators, implement research protocols, develop and implement surveys, prepare and submit manuscripts, oversee collaborative research team

### **Implementation and Sustainability of Community Based Health Programs**

*Graduate Student Instructor*

Johns Hopkins Bloomberg School of Public Health

Spring 2012

### **Introduction to Community-Based Participatory Research: Principles and Methods**

*Graduate Student Instructor*

Johns Hopkins Bloomberg School of Public Health

Winter 2011

### **Well-being of Adolescents in Vulnerable Environments (WAVE) Study**

*Research Assistant*

Johns Hopkins Bloomberg School of Public Health

June 2010- September 2011

- Conducted data collection and analysis for a six-city global study to collect information on risk and protective factors for adolescent sexual and reproductive health, access to needed health services, and potential ways to connect youth to health using technology and other innovative techniques

### **Arogya World**

*Consultant*

8/10

- Conducted literature review for mHealth project on diabetes and cardiovascular disease

### **Healthy Teen Network**

*Public Health Assessment Intern*

6/10-8/10

- Assisted in assessment of organizational effectiveness
- Created evaluation plans and designed surveys

### **Philip R. Lee Institute for Health Policy Studies** University of California, San Francisco (UCSF)

*Research Analyst*

6/07-6/09

- Collected and analyzed data using diverse techniques; managed projects; coordinated project logistics; conducted program monitoring, performance and process measurement and evaluation; acted as main liaison between academic research center and community-based organizations and research partners; trained and supervised research staff; managed Institutional Review Board applications, amendments and renewals; and critically analyzed, interpreted, and communicated findings for the following ongoing projects focused on improving community health via coalition building and community- and systems-level change:
  - *Community Action to Fight Asthma (CAFA)* Initiative
  - *Regional Asthma Management and Prevention (RAMP) Initiative's CDC Racial and Ethnic Approaches to Community Health across the U.S. (REACH-US) Center for Excellence in Eliminating Disparities (CEED)*



- **California Education Supports Project**- policy-relevant research project, in collaboration with the Public Health Institute's Adolescent Health Collaborative and WestEd

**Office of Research on Women's Health (ORWH)**  
*Scientific Writer*

National Institutes of Health (NIH)  
5/09

- Attended public hearings and scientific workshops of "Moving Into the Future: New Dimensions and Strategies for Women's Health Research for the National Institutes of Health" at University of California, San Francisco (UCSF)
- Maintained detailed notes for Global Women's Health, Sexual and Reproductive Health working group
- Assisted working group Chairs with summarizing discussion points, creating presentations, and documenting session outcomes and recommended next steps

**Phase III Emergency Contraception Research Study**      Planned Parenthood of Maryland (PPM)  
*Study Assistant and Recruiter- Baltimore Site*      10/06-5/07

- Determine patient eligibility and enroll study subjects
- Obtain informed consent and required medical, sexual, and menstrual history
- Develop study data collection instruments and protocols
- Complete all required study documentation and periodic progress reports
- Provide basic birth control counseling to PPM clients
- Assist with study advertising and outreach

**Women's Health General Clinical Research Center**  
*Research Analyst, Pregnancy and Pediatric Outcomes Study*

University of California, San Francisco  
7/06-8/06

- Conducted data abstraction from pediatric and maternal medical records
- Tracked and entered data from abstraction forms
- Managed study databases and conducted literature reviews

## ACTIVITIES

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**Johns Hopkins Bloomberg School of Public Health (JHSPH)**      10/09-11/11  
**Student Outreach Resource Center (SOURCE),** *Student Governing Board Representative*

**Girls For a Change (GFC) in Baltimore, MD,** *Volunteer*      2/10- 2/11

**Women Deliver 2010 Conference "Delivering Solutions for Girls and Women,"** *Volunteer*      6/10

**Girls For a Change (GFC) in San Francisco, CA,** *Girl Action Team Coach*      10/07-6/08

**Planned Parenthood of Maryland (PPM),** *Speaker's Bureau Volunteer*      10/06-5/07

**Health and Medical Apprenticeship Program (HMAP), UC Berkeley**      1/02- 5/05  
*Intern, Teaching Assistant, Program Coordinator and Director*

## GRANTS & AWARDS

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- Johns Hopkins Bloomberg School of Public Health *Center for Qualitative Studies in Health & Medicine, Dissertation Enhancement Award*, 2013

- Health Resources and Services Administration (HRSA) *Maternal and Child Health (MCH) Epidemiology Training Grant*, Predoctoral Fellowship, 2011- 2012
- *National Institute of Mental Health (NIMH) Training Grant*, Predoctoral Fellowship, 2009-2011
- University of California, Berkeley *Alumni Leadership Scholarship*, 2004
- Sri Hemkunt Foundation, Inc. Speech Competition *Master of Ceremony Appreciation Plaque*, 2003
- Arthritis Foundation *George Hagan Memorial Summer Science Fellowship*, UCSF, 2002
- University of California, Berkeley *Alumni Leadership Scholarship*, 2001
- Bank of America *Achievement Award Plaque Winner for Excellence in Math and Science*, 2001

## PUBLICATIONS/PRESENTATIONS

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Mmari K & **Sabherwal S**, A Review of Risk and Protective Factors for Adolescent Sexual and Reproductive Health in Developing Countries: An Update, *Journal of Adolescent Health*, 53(5):562-72, November 2013.

Mmari K & **Sabherwal S**, Review: Adolescent sexual and reproductive health. *AstraZeneca Young Health Programme, Johns Hopkins Bloomberg School of Public Health, and Plan International*, May 2011.

Kreger M, Brindis C, **Sabherwal S**, Sargent K, Nielsen J, Robles A, Standish M, “Improving Attendance and Achievement by Improving Air Quality.” 137<sup>th</sup> American Public Health Association (APHA) Annual Meeting, Philadelphia, PA, November 2009.

Brindis C, Kreger M, Hughes D, **Sabherwal S**, Sargent K, Robles A, Standish M, “Evaluating Policy Advocacy: Employing Systems Change Outcomes.” 137<sup>th</sup> American Public Health Association (APHA) Annual Meeting, Philadelphia, PA, November 2009.

Kreger M, Brindis C, **Sabherwal S**, Sargent K, Robles A, Jhawar M, Standish M, “Evaluating Policy Advocacy: Employing Systems Change Outcomes to Evaluate Community and State Environmental Policies to Reduce Asthma Disparities.” American Evaluation Association (AEA) Annual Conference, Orlando, FL, November 2009.

Kreger M, Sargent K, **Sabherwal S**, Brindis C. *Community Action to Fight Asthma (CAFA) Issue Brief: Coalition Sustainability*. The California Endowment, July 2009.

Kreger, M, Brindis C, Sargent K, **Sabherwal S**, Henderson P. *Community Action to Fight Asthma (CAFA) Issue Brief: Developing and Maintaining Coalitions*. The California Endowment, July 2009.

Kreger, M, Sargent K, Henderson P, **Sabherwal S**, Brindis C. *Community Action to Fight Asthma (CAFA) Issue Brief: Community and Resident Involvement*. The California Endowment, July 2009.

Hughes D, Kreger M, **Sabherwal S**, Powell D, Sargent K. Universal Health Insurance for Children. *Journal of Healthcare for the Poor and Underserved*, 20(1):4-17, February 2009.

Roper C, Kreger M, Brindis C, Hughes D, **Sabherwal S**, Sargent K, MacFarlane C, Robles A, Standish M, “Evaluating Policy Efforts through Systems and Organization Theories.” American Evaluation Association (AEA) Annual Conference, Denver, CO, November 2008.

Kreger M, Brindis C, Hughes DC, **Sabherwal S**, Sargent K, Robles A, Standish M, “Evaluating a Movement: Using Systems Change Outcomes.” 136<sup>th</sup> American Public Health Association (APHA) Annual Meeting, San Diego, CA, October 2008.

Kreger M, Brindis C, Hughes DC, Sargent K, **Sabherwal S**, Robles A, Standish M, “Burden of Asthma on Schools.” 136<sup>th</sup> American Public Health Association (APHA) Annual Meeting, San Diego, CA, October 2008.

**Sabherwal S**, “Implications of Maternal Psychiatric Symptomatology for Preterm Infant Development.” 13<sup>th</sup> Annual Centers for Disease Control and Prevention (CDC) Maternal and Child Health Epidemiology Conference, Atlanta, GA, December 2007.

## **PROFESSIONAL DEVELOPMENT**

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Computer Skills: Advanced proficiency in Microsoft Office (Word, Excel, Access, PowerPoint, Outlook), Internet Explorer, Mozilla Firefox, Google Chrome, Windows Operating System, Stata Statistical Analysis Program, SAS, ATLAS.ti, RefWorks/ EndNote, biomedical and social science literature database navigation

**Memberships:** American Public Health Association (*Member: 2005- Present, Student Assembly Education Board Representative: 2011-2012*); South Asian Public Health Association (*Member: 2011- Present*); National Asian Pacific American Women’s Forum (NAPAWF) Chicago (*Advisory Board Member: 2012- 2013*); National Asian Pacific American Women’s Forum (NAPAWF) Colorado (*Member: 2014- Present*)